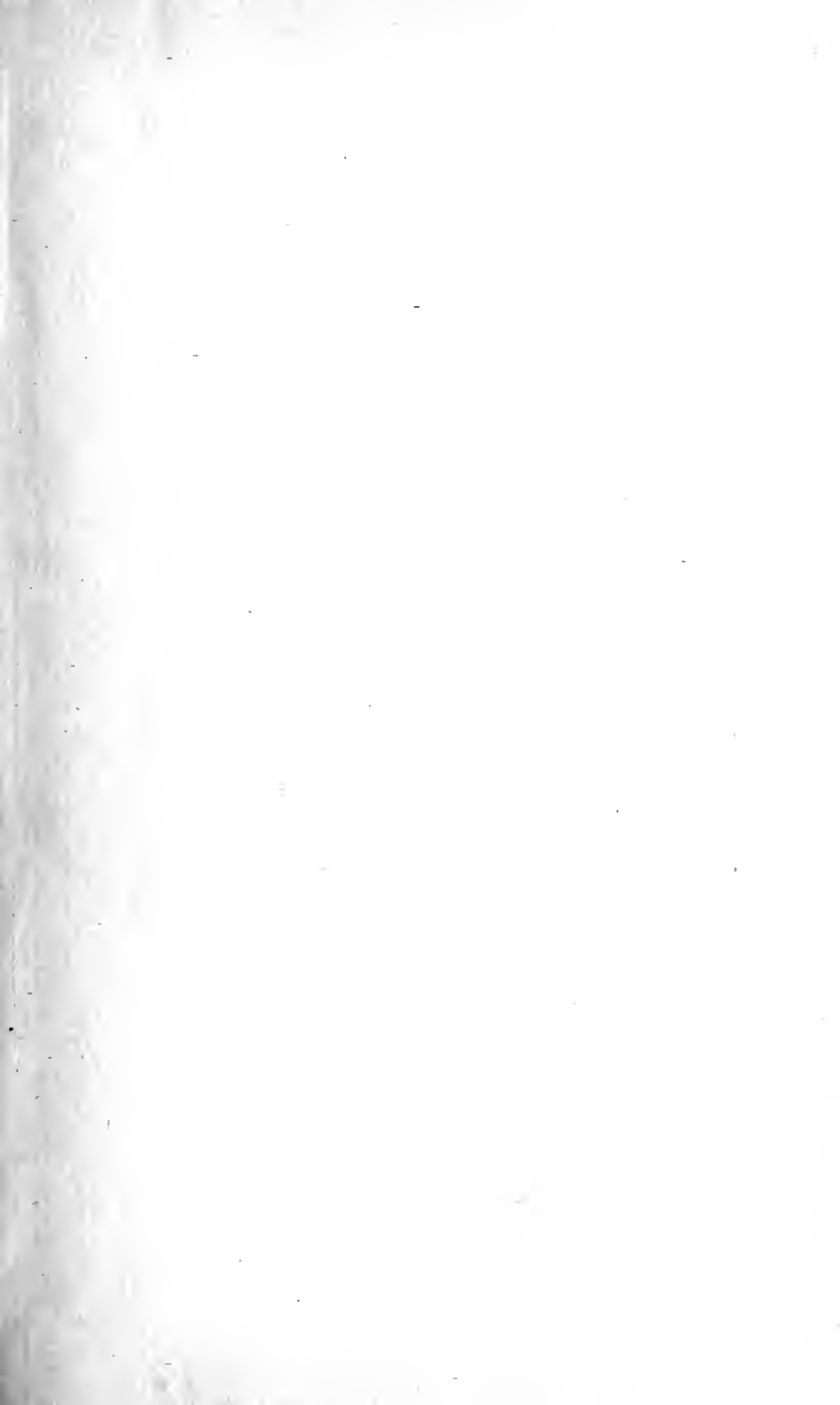




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# THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ALLIANCES

OR

*BRITAIN'S DUTY TO HER COLONIES  
AND SUBJECT RACES*

BY

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## PREFACE

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THE idea of this book has been in the mind of its author for some years. It has been like a solitary beam, and the spectrum, falling across the path of this beam, has split it into the rays reflected in these pages. That spectrum was the Spanish-American War. On June 8, 1898, the author began to gather the necessary materials for effecting his purpose, and the rough draft was completed in November of the same year.

During the process of elaboration, important incidents have occurred bearing on some of the points that are treated. Very remarkable has been the accordance of their development with the author's forecast.

This being the case, the author feels the less reserve in offering the volume to the public. The book has one great disadvantage, and that is the fact that it is on the side that is *unpopular*; but for this we have neither regret to feel nor apology to offer. Concerning the charges it makes, the author believes, in the first place, that the things denounced are contrary to *right*; in the second place, that the charges are true; and, in the third place, that healthy Christian sentiment, although for a moment asleep, is not dead.

The historical sketch of the Colonies is mainly a compilation from the Colonial Office List. The Statistics are from the same source, except those relating to India, Imports and Exports of the United Kingdom, China,

America, and the Continental States of Europe, these having been taken from the "Statesman's Year Book," edited by Dr. J. Scott Keltie. The chapter on Agriculture is framed largely on Dr. Cunningham's "History of the Growth of British Industry and Commerce of Modern Times."

Other works that have been consulted are—Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," Heeren's "Political System of Europe," Heeren's "Ancient Nations of Africa," Low and Pulling's "Dictionary of English History," Green's "History of the English People," Mommsen's "History of Rome," Dyer's "Modern Europe," the "Penny Encyclopædia," "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Chambers' Encyclopædia," "Russia's March towards India," Popowski's "Rival Powers in Central Asia," Dilke's, Sir Charles, "Problems of Greater Britain," Keltie's "Partition of Africa," Froude's "English in the West Indies," Freeman's "Impressions of the United States," Brook and Lancashire's "History of the World," Davey's "Cuba Past and Present," Salmon's "Carribean Confederation," "United States Census," "Report of the Population of the U.S.A.," Schouler's "History of the U.S.A.," Rhodes' "History of the U.S.A.," Willoughby's "Government and Administration of the U.S.A.," Bryce's, Right Hon. J., "American Commonwealth," Underhill's "Life of Rev. J. M. Phillipps," "The West Indies, their Social Condition," Underhill's "Emancipation of the West Indies," Kiane's "Ethnology," Macrae's "Americans at Home," Ferryman's "Narration of Major Macdonald's Mission," Reich's "History of Civilisation," Harrison's, Benjamin, "Constitution and Administration of the U.S.A.," Mabie and Bright's "Memorial of the U.S.A.," Rogers's "History of Agriculture and Prices in England," Story's "Russia, France, and Germany," Watson's "British Empire," Fyffe's "History of Modern Europe," Escott's "England, Her People, Policy, and Pursuits," Wheeler's "Early Records of British India," Rawlinson's, Sir H., "England and Russia in the East," Wheeler's "India Under British Rule," "Graphic History



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of the British Empire," Andrew's "History of the U.S.A.," White's "England Without and Within," Shand's "Half a Century of Changes," Vambéry's, Arminius, "Travels in Central Asia," Edwards' "The Romanoff," MacCarthy's "History of Our Times," Blyden's "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race," Gardiner's "History of Jamaica."



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## CHAPTER I

### ANGLO-SAXON ALLIANCES

UP to the present point of its advance, the American nation fills a place in human history that is altogether unique. Notwithstanding its feebleness, as a federation of thirteen States, this seedling-nation, reaching from Maine nearly to Florida, and from the Atlantic sea-board to the Alleghanies, after a violent dispute with her parent, which resulted in her throwing off all those connections that bound her to the maternal nation, set up her own establishment, for which she assumed all the responsibilities of an independent government. Compared with the present magnificent inheritance, the country thus founded was quite an unpretentious one, for it occupied only 239,935 square miles, and possessed a population of less than four millions. A marked feature of that age was the ingress of the demon of war, scattering his infernal machines amongst the nations of Europe. Shocks of their numerous and frequent explosions, passing over the Atlantic, seriously interrupted the growth of the sapling-nation. Nor was the repose of the infantile Republic disturbed only by vibrations conveyed from afar ; for it too, notwithstanding its youth, had to preserve its existence on bloody battlefields. To use another figure, we may say that, besides these headwinds blowing from without, by which its progress has been intermittently checked, there

have been also disorders within ; the last and most formidable—which, fortunately for the nation, happened after she had attained her majority—robbed her of 600,000 men, and was only extinguished at an estimated cost of £2,000,000,000 sterling. Yet, striking her root, by innumerable ramifications and prolongations, deeper and ever deeper in the soil—thus binding herself more firmly to the continent, and the continent more firmly to herself—this delicate plant, that appeared one hundred years ago on the Atlantic shore, began her marvellous growth, and, at the end of the century, it is found to extend from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, and to accommodate a population of nearly 63,000,000, which, after being fed by an unrivalled energy and skill, furnishes the rest of the world, in exchange for £152,946,084 of imports, exports amounting to £206,401,520.

At the present time this splendid specimen of national enterprise is likely to be burdened with the overwhelming obligations of a great naval and military power. And while America is in this state of transition, the European nations are threatened with asphyxia by reason of the excess of their armaments. The gravity of the European situation is skilfully presented in the following copy of a memorial drawn up by the "British and Foreign Arbitration Association," and forwarded to his Imperial Majesty the Tsar of Russia, relative to the circular issued in his Majesty's name, convening an International Conference to deal with this subject of the excessive growth of armaments. Copies of this memorial were presented also to the ambassadors of Germany, Austria, France, and Italy.

"May it please your Majesty, and your Excellencies,—We, the undersigned 'British and Foreign Arbitration Association,' respectfully appeal to the Governments of Europe, to take under their serious consideration the question of a proportional and gradual disarmament. We are persuaded that the enormous and ever-increasing armaments of Europe imperil equally the prosperit of

the competing nations, and the happiness of the people individually, while, at the same time, they greatly increase the imminence of war. Whilst every European Government has armed itself to the teeth, the people themselves, most or all of them, detest the thought of war, and their great desire is for peace. Yet Europe has now, practically, upwards of 18,000,000 armed men, ready to leap at each others' throats, most of whom have been withdrawn from peaceful pursuits, and are spending the flower of their strength in fanning the flame of military antagonism, and cultivating a spirit of revenge, vain-glory, and bloodshed. The annual expenditure of Europe on means of defence and aggression, including the interest on public debts, mainly incurred for the same in past years, has risen in the past thirty years from £210,000,000 to £416,000,000, and yet none of it is destined to promote either national prosperity or the reproduction of wealth. In the same period of time the National Debts of Europe have nearly doubled, having risen from £2,626,000,000 to £5,223,000,000, thus imposing upon the different countries a burden almost insuperable. Furthermore, gold, the great medium of exchange among the people, has been withdrawn from circulation and put into war chests, while the rate of its production and supply has until very recently been decreasing. The enforced idleness of great portions of the population, through military service, has made millions of paupers, and heaped up taxation to a height never before endured in the world's history. Hence the waste of human energy, and the social and economic misery and ruin now inflicted or impending over several countries. Throughout Europe the ruinous military rivalry is spreading a dangerous discontent, so deep and wide, that the most dangerous fanatics, called Anarchists and Nihilists, easily find a congenial soil upon which to sow their irrational and disastrous doctrines, and to carry out their atrocious practices. Even Great Britain, the wealthiest and most peaceful of all the nations, is now preparing to spend twenty millions sterling in building more warships,

simply because Russia and France are now apparently ahead of her in naval strength. They, with comparatively little foreign commerce to protect, are attempting to compete with the British Navy, which has nine-tenths of the commerce of the world to protect, and whose people are by nature and necessity a seafaring race. This rivalry, however, is that of the madman, not of the wise man ; it is that of the gladiator, not of the statesman ; it is that of the savage, not of the civilised being. A policy of candour and goodwill ought to be inaugurated, based upon the highest interests of humanity and the real prosperity of nations, which are destined to work out the wonderful resources granted to mankind in every country by a merciful and bountiful Providence. We earnestly implore, therefore, the Sovereigns, Rulers, and Governments of Europe to begin, while there is time and opportunity, to disarm and disband the greater part of their vast armed forces, in order that they may return to peaceful pursuits, and be no more a burden to their fellow-countrymen or a menace to the peace of the nations."

The ill-will, jealousy, suspicion, and distrust of international Europe may be summed up in the facts, that it supports 18,000,000 fighting men, and devotes £416,000,000 to war preparations. Next to taking up a doubtful position, is the difficulty of finding adequate reasons for maintaining it. Such reasons have been found, not only for the existence of huge armies and formidable fleets, but also for their interminable increase. And now, mainly through the economic suffocation threatened by this overgrowth of armaments, the Conference alluded to has been called. But however ingenious, and seemingly conclusive, are the arguments justifying the present military and naval systems of Europe, it is an incontrovertible fact, that these systems are irreconcilably at variance with those Christian beliefs upon which the States of Europe profess to be founded, and by which they profess to be guided. Not one of the Great Nations of Europe can plead exemption from the accusation of having, directly or indirectly, aided in estab-



lishing the condition of which the present armaments are the outcome and the expression. Each nation wishes for peace, but is there one that is fully willing to accept its necessary conditions? Is it not rather that each one wants peace *and a world*?

Because of the carnage, the miseries, and the horrors, of which the arsenal and the dockyard into which Europe is transformed are the symbols, men clutch at any expedient that offers to stay the doom. Hence the acclaim with which Russia's invitation has been greeted, and the abundant encomiums lavished by a grateful world upon the illustrious ruler with whom it originated. Because of her enormous weight in the councils of Europe, no other European Power could with better effect have called for a halt in the march of armaments. No nation in Europe could more effectively have hoisted this signal for reduction. But in another hemisphere there is such a nation—a nation which, only a few years ago, might have taken the step of arresting the growth of arms, with even a better prospect of success than Russia.

Russia is pre-eminently a military Power—a military Power, moreover, with the ambition to become a great naval Power also. It aims to be the greatest military Power, and also the greatest naval Power; and she is, at the same time, stretching every nerve to add to her dominions. It is while cherishing such ambitions that Russia appears as the evangel of peace. Among the auditory she thus addresses there have been some who in secret doubted the genuineness of her purpose; whilst a few others who have been more outspoken, have reminded her that she bears in her hand a sword rather than an olive-branch.

But that other nation to which we have referred, a nation separated by an ocean from the scene of rivalries and strifes, has hitherto turned her vast resources into channels of peaceful industry and ennobling commerce. America—by reason of her great wealth, her agricultural, mechanical, and commercial achievements, the absence of territorial aggrandisement, and of military and naval pre-

ponderance—could, in her security by reason of her distance from the swelter of European politics, and her protection by her policy from the vagaries of suspicion, have raised in the Conference a voice which might have secured for the cause of peace, not only attention, and respect, and sympathy, but also that rarer boon, national self-sacrifice. By reason of her qualifications, her position, and her policy, America might easily have become the custodian, and the dispenser, of the world's peace. What a blessing would this have been to mankind! What moral and material gain to the Republic!

But, alas! it seems now too evident, that even the United States of America are about to barter their birth-right for the mess of pottage of a name as a first-class naval and military Power.

This brings us to the subject which it is proposed to examine with some care—a subject that is being widely and enthusiastically discussed on this side of the Atlantic, and that has awakened on the other side a certain degree of attention. It is the possibility of alliances, first between Great Britain and the United States, and then between Great Britain and Germany. What is likely to be the *rôle* of the United States as a great naval and military Power, in relation to an alliance with the other great branch of the Anglo-Saxon race? In order to find an answer to this question, two things must be taken into consideration: one is the geographical position of the States, and the other the history and tradition of the people of the States. Merely touching these subjects at a few points in our advance, we begin by noticing that the United States of America possess certain distinct and important advantages over the leading European States. For example, they greatly out-distance their neighbours in national strength and in the development of their resources, so that there is an avoidance of that rivalry that is such a fruitful source of danger among great commercial nations. Then they are at peace with their neighbours—such a peace as obviates the necessity of “armed

neutrality." And as to the solidarity of the nation, one cannot but be struck by the contrast, when the development of these States into a solid nation is compared with the neighbouring unwelded States of Central and South America. Such a comparison reveals the fact that, in view of the difficulties that stood in the way of fusion into a confederacy, the Central and Southern States, and not the Northern, should have been the corporate nation. What we see to be most evident in the early history of this nation are the elements of disunion among the original thirteen States! Differences of political institutions, of race, and of religion, were the sources of disunion. "Each colony," it has been said, "grew up independently of the others, and so far as its character permitted, framed its government in its own way, on the general model of British Institutions. . . . Planted along the Atlantic coast, each having its own harbours and river systems, the colonies had felt no drawings towards general union. . . . One or more had taken advantage of superior harbours to tax the products of their neighbours going out through their ports. Connecticut and Massachusetts quarrelled for a while over the dues levied by the former at Saybrook on goods destined for Springfield in the latter Colony. Virginia and Maryland long maintained a dispute concerning their respective rights to the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac River; while even the adoption of the constitution had not wholly precluded controversy between New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, in the matter of the control of New York Bay, as in the case of claim of certain patentees of New York to the monopoly of steam navigation with those waters."

The second point of difference, that of race, refers mainly to the States of New York and New Jersey, which, although in 1664 and thenceforth to the time of the Revolution in 1781, they were under British rule, yet in race, habits, and language, remained Dutch and Swedish, as by these nations both these States had been settled.

By the third point of difference, we are landed at once

in a tangle of opposing beliefs. There were Lutherans among the Swedes, with that form of doctrine concerning the Eucharist which had cloven the Reforming host into warring factions. There were Calvinists, men who, with stubborn pertinacity, held the very opposite doctrine. In Virginia there were patrician sentiments, with the practices of union between Church and State. The Puritans of Plymouth and Massachusetts chose exile rather than to be governed by the opinions which, with an equal sacredness, Virginia cherished. From these, who were divided on every point, save perhaps their belief in the lawfulness of war, we turn to the Quaker settlement of Pennsylvania, where war on any ground was held to be indefensible and sinful.

In a haven that was spiked with shoals and jagged rocks, we will for an instant leave the frail bark, while we proceed to observe that, unlike these North American States—except perhaps politically—the fifteen States of Central and South America were similar in language, similar in race, and similar in religion, and yet, after cutting themselves adrift from the mother country, instead of forming one homogeneous confederacy, these States have remained independent, but weak and struggling, republics. And even the five Central American States which started under federal union, appear not to have possessed that homogeneity which was sufficient to save them from the disintegration by which they were afterwards overtaken.

In the case of North America, islands of isolated States, which were surrounded by seas of discord and difference, yielded to the forces of a strong necessity, and merged into one united organisation. Since that event many incidents have transpired in the progress of the nation. One of the most noteworthy was the uprooting from the national soil of that monster upas-tree of "slavery." Thus, free from the menace of formidable and jealous neighbours, and possessing the power of combination, which could compact hostile elements into one vast and solid whole, their continuity has survived foreign wars, invasion, municipal

corruption, the inrush of waves of alien immigration, and has even survived the blow of a terrible rebellion.

America is now a great naval and military Power, with 63,000,000 of people, 3,000,000 of square miles of territory, much of it possessing abundant mineral treasures of gold and silver, of iron and copper, of lead and coal. There are extensive wheat-fields, immense cattle ranches, and enormous manufactories. America is certainly a prize, for whose hand the suitors for an international Europe will most ardently contend.

What would be the attitude that she would, under such circumstances, be likely to assume? Would she accept such advances, and toward a favourable decision would racial considerations be likely to have a paramount place? I am reminded of the well-known aphorism, "Blood is thicker than water"; and adding to this base, the community of religion and of language, the balance does seem to poise in favour of the British branch of the Anglo-Saxon race. And it is no doubt a most gratifying augury that, beneath the progress of greater cordiality between the two sections of the race, a century of ill-will has, for the time at least, been wholly submerged.

But besides taking into account the circumstances and conditions under which these more auspicious relations have been created, we have also to remember that, during the century that has passed, a large infusion of alien blood by which the Anglo-Saxon fluid has taken a more or less polymorphous hue, has been added. This will be well understood when it is mentioned, that according to the United States census for the last decade, of the 8,962,131 European immigrants that settled in America during that period, except 980,941 from Canada and Newfoundland, only 4,036,291 were from Germany and Great Britain; so it is probable that during the last fifty years, when the tide of immigration began to flow at its present volume, materials sufficient to dilute pure race affinity must have been accumulating in the States from Europe generally; and we know that among such material an element, and

not an insignificant element, has been present which will not only dilute, but antagonise, the race affinity. This fact may be apprehended when it is stated, that whilst Great Britain, during the last ten years, supplied 1,251,397 immigrants to the United States, Ireland furnished during the same period 1,871,468. Again, although fully recognising the potency of the thickness of blood to overcome certain adventitious conditions that may for a time keep nations apart that are allied by racial ties, there is present in human affairs a factor that is itself thicker than blood, and that is "material interest." Thus while it is said, and said with truth, that "blood is thicker than water," it must also be added, that *interest* is thicker than *blood*. So that if nine-tenths of the population of America had been Anglo-Saxons pure and simple; and if Great Britain and the American Republic had always lived on terms of the closest friendship that race identity is capable of producing, if it were found at any time that continued friendship was incompatible with the highest interests of the States, or *vice versa*, kindred, language, and religion would not be allowed, we may be sure, to delay an immediate severance. Hence, in discussing America's probable relations with Europe as a great military and naval Power, we have to be guided, not so much by her race connections with any European Power, as by the character of her interest with any one or all of those Powers.

One of the marvels of the American Commonwealth is the rapidity of its growth. Although only a century old, this Commonwealth ranks only less than Russia in population. And the growth of population presents two features: one being that, depending for its stimulus mainly on immigration, its phenomenal increase does not go back beyond fifty years. And the other feature is, that towards the end of those fifty years, instead of diminishing, immigration has mounted up to five times the size at which it stood at the beginning of the fifty years. Further, during the one hundred years of national life,

and practically the fifty years alluded to before, of the total area of 3,595,600 square miles of country possessed by the United States, 2,000,000 have been settled ; leaving a million and a half of unsettled territory. And it is not without importance to notice how this vast accumulation of territory grew to its present proportions. In 1803, Louisiana, consisting of over a million square miles, was obtained by purchase from the French. In like manner Florida, containing 58,680 square miles, was obtained in 1821 from Spain. The annexation of Texas, consisting of 375,239 square miles, followed in 1845. The Mexican cession of 545,783 square miles was in 1848. What is known as the Gadsden Purchase, which brought an accession of 45,535 square miles of territory to the United States, was made in 1853. In 1867 Alaska was purchased, with its 570,000 square miles, from Russia. The original thirteen States had been British.

Now what these facts reveal is a gradual, yet persistent, absorption of territory by the American Republic ; and, by that absorption, a gradual ousting of Europe from the American Continent. England, France, Spain, Russia, and again Spain, have thus been removed from that part of the continent which is now ruled by America. The power of cohesion, which critical phases of the national life have demonstrated to be innate in the American national character, will continue to hold the nation together as one indivisible unit. But whether, as a first-class naval and military Power, its population will increase during the next fifty years as it has increased while it has been a commercial Power, must be regarded as problematic, and even as doubtful. Yet even granting that there will be a slackening in immigration during the next fifty years, it seems to be certain that the present remnant of unoccupied land will all have received settlers before that period has passed.

After the Spanish-American Colonies had cast off the yoke of their mother country, their next endeavour was to have their status of independence recognised by the

leading nations of the world; and, naturally, the first country to tender such a recognition was the North American Republic. Nor was she content with the gift of her own recognition, but she exerted herself also to have these *débutantes* received into the family of nations. During an interview on the subject, the great Canning said to the American minister, "Great Britain would not again lend her aid to make up the dispute between Spain and her Colonies, but," he added, "we shall not interfere to prevent it." On the other hand, through the sanction, if not the suggestion, of the so-called "Holy Alliance" (as was believed), instead of recognising as independent nations the South American States which had freed themselves from the rule of Spain, the French King contemplated establishing a Bourbon dynasty in the Western Hemisphere. This possibility drew from President Monroe these words—words which were embodied in his message to Congress, and have become the helm and rudder of American foreign policy—"We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." That the American Continent should be wholly under the Republican form of government, would seem to be the central idea of this "doctrine."

America may look about her own borders for the material with which to replenish any exhaustion that may arise. With the exception of Australia, Europe is the smallest of the five great divisions of our globe. Yet in quality, extent, and duration it stands out in its achievements and in its influence as the mightiest of all the continents. In theology, law, philosophy, poetry, painting, music, sculpture, architecture, agriculture, literature, commerce, medicine, science, and manufacture, Europe has been the elaborator, inventor, and dispenser of the common human gifts. It has been trustee and guardian for the rest of mankind.

But amid the precepts of peace and love inculcated by theology; the justice and self-sacrifice produced by it in



the character of European nations ; the security of law ; the refinement of art ; the culture of literature ; the victories of science ; and the ease, the comfort, and the splendour of commerce ; it remains an indisputable fact that, in jealousy, in avarice, in enmity, in the prodigal waste of treasure, and in the still more appalling waste of life, through bitter and incessant war, Christian and cultured Europe is not one whit behind the darkest and bloodiest of the other continents. Nor was human blood through war shed more freely under Europe *heathen*, than under Europe *Christian* ; neither has it been shed less in the name of religion than in the name of politics ; nor does the present promise less of these calamities in the future, than has been contributed by the past ; for, as the promoters and abettors, the leaders of religious communities in Europe, leaders in science, in art, in merchandise, and in politics ; men of birth, men of distinction, men of affluence, all give their wealth, their skill, and their influence, to equip and to support millions of men, to build thousands of battleships, to manufacture terrible missiles and horrible explosives, all for the slaughter of one another. Every year witnesses the greater elaboration of the gigantic engine for their mutual ruin and destruction ; every year the thumb-screws are tightened to extract more gold from the poor, in order to maintain the insatiable god of war. Every year the war fever burns more fiercely in the veins of Europe ; every year her delirious mutterings become louder and more incoherent, until oppressed by the imminence of doom, men hold their breath in expectation of the inrush of the tidal wave by which millions are to be swept into the jaws of death. It is the existence of this political atmosphere, charged with every element of passion, and ready to explode with destructive violence, of which America, from her safe retreat across the Atlantic, is conscious. Will she then, for the sake of kinship, join an alliance which involves her sharing in the impending disaster, or, with a clear apprehension of her national *interest*, will she prefer to abstain ?

The policy of abstention was inaugurated by the first President of the United States, and carried out by him under circumstances of peculiar gravity and delicacy. It is the policy to which American statesmen of all parties have ever since adhered, and by which Europe may become the puppet of the Republic.

Turning now to an Anglo-German alliance, which is also at present receiving some public attention, and which is thought by many to be not only desirable, but practicable. In its broader outlines the question is not very unlike the one which we have been considering. As in that case, an answer is not to be found on the line of racial similarity, sympathy, or identity ; but within the range of proximity of *interests*. Put in a crude yet suggestive form, this unwritten politico-commercial law might read thus : "Where there is sameness of *blood*, there the nations *may* be ; but where there is community of *interests*, there the nations *must* be."

Now, applying this law to the relations between Great Britain and Germany, whilst we discern strong features of resemblance in the commercial life of both countries, and whilst the interests of the two nations will be found travelling together for a considerable distance, it may also be perceived, that the points of unity between Russian and German interests, if not more numerous than those existing between Germany and Britain, are at least more vital in one or two respects.

Years ago our commerce used to be cultivated, as it were, in greenhouses, the plants being walled in with that species of glass known as "differential tariffs." They received assiduous attention. But the effect of all this foresight and industry was, that much of the work accomplished by capital and labour bore in the result no higher value than partially successful experiments. The products were comparatively small ; foreign supplies were restricted ; prices were abnormally high ; the few were enriched, and the many were impoverished. These things were allowed to continue until common-sense took the field against

folly, prejudice, and greed. After many fierce verbal battles had been fought, the triumvirate was vanquished. The conditions laid down at the signing of peace were, that the greenhouses should be demolished, the plants left unprotected, and those of them that were unable to withstand the elements should be allowed to die, and their places supplied by imports from abroad. Capital and labour were henceforth to be at liberty to devote their energies only to those products that would thrive in the open air of unrestricted competition.

The result has been that these two great operatives, Capital and Labour, have not only doubled, but many times quadrupled, their former outputs. They have also been enabled to sell more cheaply, to employ larger staffs of workers, and prodigiously increased their revenues. The cheapness of their commodities has vastly increased the multitude of consumers; foreign imports and exports have grown apace, the people are contented and happy, and the country has become the banking-house of the world.

Now what is the history of modern German trade? For some ten years, in consequence of the more liberal course which Germany's traders had adopted, hopes were entertained that, like this country, she was about to abandon the rough places of protection for the fertile plains of Free-trade. In 1879, however, those budding hopes perished miserably under Germany's retrogression to the arid wilds of extreme protection. There she continues, with Russia, to practise its doctrines. She has recently raised the standard of "free-trade" in her newly acquired possession in the "Far East," but time only can reveal the full significance of this latest departure.

Unlike us, who have reached the manhood of commercial life, these two nations, in that respect, are in their youth time; and so, not only are the notions cherished by the one more agreeable to the other, but the unequal and irksome steps which youth would have to take, in order to keep pace with age, are avoided. Misunderstanding,

from failure to appreciate the motives of the senior, is thereby minimised, and the jealousy, through inability to keep up with the elder, is eliminated.

Another resembling link, in addition to the sameness of commercial ideas, and equality of commercial ages, is the sameness of objective sphere of operation. When the Portuguese—taking advantage of the mariner's compass (previously known to the Chinese), which was introduced into Europe in the fourteenth century—commenced those brilliant discoveries that brought Porto-Santo, Madeira, the Azores, places on the African coast as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and the sea-passage of the East, before the eyes of Europe; and when Spain, by the genius of Columbus, whose search for the westward passage to India led to the discovery of America, and afterwards of Mexico, Peru, and Chili by others, and the western passage by Magellan; and when those two States, followed by Holland, France, and England, began to build their colonial and commercial empires, Germany and Russia were but in the womb. Hence when they began their commercial activity, they discovered that the most available portions of the globe had already been appropriated. There remained one region, however, that was not yet wholly within the grasp of Europe. That region was Africa; and to that continent Germany went in order to obtain her colonial and commercial patrimony. But the impregnable climatic wall that successfully withstood the assaults of Greeks and Romans, and that has strained the perseverance, and baffled the prowess, of the older colonising powers, Portugal, Holland, England, and France, Germany can hardly hope to make any very effective breach into. Germany has indeed begun to look out for other fields, and in her search she has fallen upon a vast empire in the East—one that is full of wealth and full of people. It is as an empire weak. Germany has been unable to resist the temptation, and so she has taken up her residence in China, and, as is not unnatural, she has since been joined in occupation by her companion, Russia

Thus the Chinese Empire has become the objective of the commercial operations of these two nations.

And a still further point of resemblance between Russia and Germany is the great military organisation of each Power, the open autocracy of the one, and the veiled autocracy of the other. But Germany, notwithstanding the deathless renown shed on her military annals, the millions of her combatants, and the victories of Königgrätz and Sedan, fears the reprisals of her last foe, and knows well enough that, of all the nations, it is within the competence of Russia alone to hold back the hand that would hurl against her the retaliative bolt.

A Cabinet minister described the position of Great Britain, some two or three years ago, as a "splendid isolation." Instead of provoking criticism, the phrase was immediately caught up and repeated by Parliamentary leaders, as well as by the rank and file of politicians, as not only an apt representation of the condition it was meant to describe, but as representing a situation of which a great nation might well be proud. But now circumstances have arisen by which that condition has been so completely modified, that the employment of the phrase in a similar connection would subject the speaker to the pillory of a severe verbal chastisement.

What have been the causes of this change of feeling and opinion? We supply the following quotations from speeches, not only of members of Parliament who, as statesmen, are eminent, but of members of Parliament who are authoritative advisers of the Crown. The first extracts are taken from speeches by the Prime Minister, which were delivered in May and June, 1898. "On one side you have great countries of enormous power, and growing in power every year; growing in wealth, growing in dominion, growing in the perfection of their organisations. . . . By the side of these splendid organisations, of which nothing seems to diminish the forces of their present rival claims, which the future may only be able by bloody arbitrament to adjust. . . ." "I freely admit that their commercial policy

does place them in a position of antagonism to us in dealing with these half-civilised countries. . . . I admit that mere territorial expansion has to a great extent ceased to have any charm for the Government of England; we have territories as large as we can govern. But what forces us to express our opinion, and to take part with other nations who are dealing with the unappropriated places of the earth . . . is the extreme protectionist policy, which we know to be very calamitous to our trade, and which we believe to be equally calamitous to their own." "I cannot say that any immediate danger is apprehended. . . . But recent events have made the Chinese Government more sensible of the possibility of unexpected occurrences happening in their empire."

In these three statements we are told of great rival Powers, with claims which the future "may only be able by bloody arbitrament to adjust." We have further the accidental antagonism of these Powers towards us; and we are told that China is the territory on which these rival claims may have to be adjusted.

The next quotation is from the speech delivered at Birmingham in May last, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In that speech we find Mr. Chamberlain saying: "I am glad the people of the country are turning their attention to this question of Foreign Policy . . . because you must all recognise that for some time past there has been a combined assault, by the nations of the world, upon the commercial supremacy of this country; and if that assault were successful, our existence would be menaced in a way in which it never has been threatened since the time, at the beginning of this century, when the great Napoleon attempted to lay an interdict upon British trade. . . . All the powerful States of Europe have made alliances, and as long as we keep outside these alliances, as long as we are envied by all, and suspected by all; as long as we have interests which at one time or another conflict with the interest of all, we are liable to be confronted at any moment with a combination of Great Powers, so powerful that not

even the most extreme, the most hot-headed, politician would be able to contemplate it without a certain sense of uneasiness. . . . We stand alone, and we may be confronted with such a combination as I have described to you. We may have in the future to contend with Russia in China, as we may have with Russia in Afghanistan, but with this difference, that in China we have no army, and no defensive frontier. . . . Now there is only one alternative to the policy of the Government, it is the policy of war. . . . Let us consider the alternative—we might have declared war on Russia ; we might for a year or two have held Port Arthur against Russia, but we have no military force there to back us, and no frontier in China. . . . Now what does history show us? It shows us that unless we are allied to some great military Power, as we were in the Crimean War, when we had France and Turkey as our allies, we cannot seriously injure Russia. . . . It is impossible to overrate the gravity of the issue . . . it is not a single part of China . . . it is a question of the whole fate of the Chinese Empire ; and our interests in China are so great . . . our proportion of the trade is so enormous. . . . One thing appears certain, if the policy of isolation, which has hitherto been the policy of this country, is to be maintained in future, then the future of the Chinese Empire may be, probably will be, hereafter decided without reference to our wishes, and in defiance of our interests. If, on the other hand, we are determined to enforce the policy of the 'Open door,' . . . we must not reject the idea of an alliance with those interests that are nearest to our own."

By this trumpet blast ambiguity is dispelled, and inference starts forth as positive assertion.

Instead of nations standing towards us in *accidental* antagonism, they are here represented as our organised assailants, and of these the central figure is Russia. The proposal for effectively dealing with the foe is by means of an alliance with some great military Power, and this is understood to be Germany. We have already spoken of the ties between Russia and Germany, parity of the com-

mercial ages of the two countries, identity of commercial methods, and similarity in their political and military organisations. As links between the two nations, these features of similarity may be of little, or they may be of great, value; and whether little or much, we may be able to bring on our side advantages equalling or even excelling them, which, under ordinary circumstances might have proved to be a sufficient inducement for Germany to enter into an alliance with us.

But for Germany to form an alliance with us would involve her severance from, and even antagonism to, Russia, and the consequent loss of what Germany supremely needs, the mediation which alone lies in the power of Russia. Could we possibly offer Germany any equivalent for such a loss? And if we could would she accept it?

The following extract from a German newspaper, the *Post*, was recently given in the London *Times*. The passage was written during the recent strained relations between England and France on the Fashoda question: "Russia has often been furnished with proof that wherever a real Russian interest is concerned, and when the vital interest of Germany and her allies are not affected, Russia may always expect friendly support from Germany. We are therefore under no misapprehension of being misunderstood by Russia."

Therefore, such an alliance with Germany would be directed against Russia, and since Germany, by an interest that is vital, as well as by choice, is pledged to support Russia, an Anglo-German alliance, in this sense, seems highly improbable. Russia is Germany's lightning conductor. She is the pole-star of the diplomatic mariner of Europe. An alliance or an understanding with Germany would be an understanding with *Germany*, but an understanding with Russia would be an understanding with Europe.



## CHAPTER II

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE—ITS COLONIES

It is important, in making an attempt to solve the problem of international relations, and to decide the policy of the future, that we should pass under review the relations of England with her various Colonial possessions, and it will be convenient to deal with them in alphabetical order.

The Bahamas are the most northerly of the British West Indian Colonies. They consist of some twenty inhabited islands, and an unknown number of rocks and islets; together covering an area of 4,466 square miles, which is about half the size of Wales. St. Salvador, one of the islands forming this group, was the first discovered by Columbus, and from him it received its name. These islands were included in the charter given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, and they were nominally attached to Virginia; but they were not occupied till 1612. In 1680 New Providence—one of the settlements—was laid waste by the Spaniards; and in 1703 it was annihilated by a combination of the French and the Spaniards. The Bahamas were surrendered to the Spaniards in 1781, but at the peace of Versailles, in 1783, they were again delivered over to Great Britain.

"The climate is very pleasant and salubrious in the winter season, and the Colony has, in recent years, been much frequented by visitors from the United States

and Canada." The commercial relations of the Colony are mainly with the United States, whither considerable quantities of pine-apples and oranges are exported. The value of oranges, limes, and other fruit so exported in 1896, amounted to £4,586, besides 332,269 dozens of pine-apples, valuing £16,490. Sisal fibre, which is another marketable product, is now being extensively cultivated ; the value exported in 1896 was £5,389. The population of Bahamas is 47,565, and the exports for 1896 were valued as £138,972, whilst the imports were set down as £194,774.

Barbadoes, another of the West Indian group, is the most easterly of the Caribee Islands. It is nearly twenty-one miles long and fourteen broad. It contains about 166 square miles of territory, that is to say, it is about the size of the county of Rutland. It is said to have been first visited by the Portuguese, but it was nominally taken possession of by the English ship *Olive*, in 1605. Colonisation did not, however, begin until 1625, when Sir William Courtseen—a London merchant under the protection of the Earl of Marlborough, who had a grant of the island from the time of James I.—fitted out two large ships, one only of which succeeded in reaching Barbadoes, with a party of thirty persons. Unlike many of the other islands, Barbadoes has always remained in the possession of Great Britain. Sugar has been the chief industry. But as recently as 1896, mining operations were begun, which yielded 1,000 tons of the purest asphaltum between the months of March and August of that year. There is a considerable demand for this substance in the manufacture of varnish, gas, and asphalt-paving, and also for insulating cables. The population of Barbadoes, according to the last census, is 188,000, the imports £1,048,886, and exports £758,227.

#### BASUTOLAND.

Basutoland, in South Africa, is bounded by the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony. Its area is

estimated at 10,293 square miles, so that it is nearly as large as Belgium. The country is well watered, and enjoys an excellent climate. It is also the finest grain-producing country in South Africa. The scenery is of extreme beauty, and there is abundance of grass. The climate is perfect for both Europeans and natives, and when it is made more easily accessible, it is likely to become a great health resort. According to the census of 1891 the European population numbers 578, and the natives 218,324. The imports, which consist chiefly of blankets, ploughs, saddlery, clothing, tin, ironwares, and groceries, amount to £135,560; and the exports, which consist chiefly of grain, cotton, and wool, are valued at £160,277.

#### BERMUDA.

From Basutoland we will retrace our steps to Bermuda. The Bermudas, or Somers Islands, form a group of some 300 islands, and are situated in the Western Atlantic Ocean. They are 2,900 miles from Liverpool; 730 from Halifax, in Nova Scotia; 677 from New York; and 800 miles from the nearest of the West India Islands. The area of these islands is believed to be eighteen square miles. They were discovered by Juan Bermudes, a Spanish mariner in 1515. Spain, however, took no steps towards settling them, and when the English admiral, Sir George Somers, was shipwrecked on a voyage to Virginia, and found refuge at Bermuda, the islands were not inhabited. They were given by charter to the Virginia Company by James I., and they were sold to "The Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Somers Islands," by the Virginia Company for £2,000. Under Admiral Somers the first settlers were located at Bermuda.

The climate of Bermuda is mild and salubrious. Formerly its industry was confined to maritime pursuits; but in consequence of the repeal of the Navigation Laws and the use of steam, the carrying trade between the West Indies, Demarara, and the United States, as well as with

the British Colonies in North America, has been superseded by agriculture. The products cultivated find a ready market in the United States. The population of Bermuda is 15,884, its exports £101,063, and imports £304,895.

#### BRITISH GUIANA.

This Colony, which is a portion of the South American Continent, is bounded on the east by Dutch Guiana, on the south by Brazil, on the west by Venezuela, and on the north-east by the Atlantic. It has an area of about 109,000 square miles. It was first partially settled by the Dutch West India Company in 1580; and in 1624 another settlement was founded by Van Peere, a flourishing merchant. The first English attempt at settlement was made by Captain Leigh, but this, although followed up by Robert Harcourt, failed, and success was only achieved when Lord Willoughby, in 1663, turned his attention from Barbadoes to this country. The settlement then founded was named Surinam, and this the Dutch captured in the year 1667. The British ceded it, at the peace of Breda, to the Dutch Government in exchange for New York. The Dutch retained their hold on the three colonies with but intermittent firmness; now holding them, now yielding them to the French, then to the Portuguese, and again to England, until the year 1814, when British Guiana was finally retaken by the British. Formerly the staple of British Guiana was sugar, molasses, rum, cotton, and coffee. The soil of some parts is capable of growing coffee of the rarest excellence. The forest, with which the interior of the colony is covered, abounds in woods of beauty and value. Some of these woods, on account of their remarkable durability, are peculiarly suitable for house and shipping purposes, while others are equally prized for the manufacture of household furniture. Gold washing is carried on by about 8,000 diggers, and is rapidly increasing. From 1888, when 14,570 oz. were exported, the industry has developed until in 1896-97, 126,107 oz., valued at

£466,143, were exported. The population of British Guiana is 180,106. Its export £1,899,457, and its imports £1,341,710.

#### BRITISH HONDURAS.

British Honduras is situated on the east coast of Central America, and has an area of 7,562 square miles. It is about the size of Wales. The coast was discovered by Columbus in 1502, and the first settlement is supposed to have been effected from Jamaica about 1638, by adventurers who were attracted by the fine timbers (logwood and mahogany) which grow on the banks of the river. The chief industry of Honduras is wood-cutting, and this is two hundred years old. Mahogany to the extent of 2,769,676 feet, and 34,539 tons of logwood, were exported in 1896. The chief exports are mahogany, logwood, india-rubber, cocoanut, tortoiseshell, and rum. The population is 31,471. Imports £1,462,637, and exports £1,571,530.

#### BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

British New Guinea is a portion of the island of New Guinea in the Pacific Ocean, and a number of islands in its vicinity. With the exception of Australia, New Guinea is the largest island in the world. Taken with the other islands, its area is about 90,540 square miles. The island of New Guinea was discovered as early as 1511 by Antonio de Abrea, and was touched by several of the early navigators. The whole island to the west of 141° E. longitude is claimed by the Dutch, as suzerains of the Sultan of Tidore. That portion to the eastward of 141° E. longitude, and to the north of British New Guinea, belongs to the German Empire. The acquisition by the British Crown of the portion of the island that was not claimed by Holland, was long advocated by Australian statesmen, and the growing influence of France and Germany in the Pacific Ocean, coupled with the establishment of a penal settlement in the French island of New Caledonia, created

some alarm in Australia, lest a country lying so near as New Guinea should pass into the hands of a foreign Power. To prevent this, the eastern part of the island was annexed to the British Empire by the Government of Queensland, and a Protectorate proclaimed in 1884 by the Imperial Government. With the exception that land cannot be acquired directly from the natives, nor firearms, explosives, or intoxicating liquors sold them; and that the engagement of natives as labourers is subject to certain regulations, no restriction is imposed on the pursuit of any calling in the possession. The principal exports are pearl-shell, copra, bêche-de-mer, and sandalwood. Gold has been found in paying quantities, combined with osmiridium and cinnabar. The aboriginal native population is probably 300,000. The value of imports £34,521, exports £19,401. Gold, to the extent of 1,373 oz., was exported in 1895-96.

#### CANADA.

To the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, of which the Colony of Canada was originally composed, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were added, by Royal Proclamation in 1867, and these constituted the first Dominion of Canada. By subsequent proclamations the further additions of Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, and four other territories have been made.

European occupation of Canada began in the sixteenth century. In that century (1535) Jacques Cartier entered the St. Lawrence, and again in the following year. The first permanent settlement was made by the French, under de Monts, at Port Royal (Annapolis) in 1604. The French also founded Quebec in 1759, and after this a large number of French colonists settled in Lower Canada, near the St. Lawrence River. The British General, Wolfe, captured Quebec in 1759, and the conquest of Canada was completed in 1760.

The Dominion of Canada occupies the northern half of the American Continent (with the exception of Labrador

and Alaska, which belong to the United States). It comprises an area estimated at 3,315,647 square miles, an area twenty-nine times the size of the United Kingdom, and four times the size of British India ; and this estimate is exclusive of the great lakes and rivers, which themselves cover about 141,000 square miles. The seven settled provinces of the Dominion contain about 955,356 square miles. The main industry of the Dominion of Canada is agriculture ; an enormous quantity of cereals and dairy produce is raised and exported. The fisheries of the maritime provinces are very extensive, and large quantities of dried, pickled, and canned fish and lobsters are exported. The lumber and fur trades are also important. Coal and gold are found in British Columbia and Nova Scotia. Copper principally in Ontario. Valuable nickel and phosphate mines exist. Shipbuilding is an important industry. The principal manufactured articles exported are furniture, and other manufactures of wood, leather, agricultural machines, and musical instruments. The chief imports are textile manufactures, coal, hardware, tea, sugar, raw cotton, hides and tobacco. The population of the Dominion numbers 4,833,239 ; of these 1,400,000 are French, and speak the French language ; 110,000 are Indians, and 9,000 are Chinese. The imports for 1896 were valued at £23,602,301, and exports £24,202,770.

#### THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The Cape of Good Hope, strictly speaking, is a small promontory near the south-west extremity of the Continent of Africa. But the extensive Colony of that name is bounded by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans on the west and south, and on the north by the Orange River, on the north-east by the Orange States and Natal, and on the east by Pondoland. The Cape, with the Transkei, has an area of 276,902 square miles, which makes it more than five times the size of England. In 1884 Letters Patent were issued annexing Natal to the Cape, but in 1856 it was

constituted a separate colony. Twelve islands off Angra Pequena, on the coast of Damaraland, with the adjacent rocks, were annexed in 1867, and ceded to the Cape in 1874. In 1876 three large tracts of Kaffraria were brought under the more direct control of the Government; and in 1876 Letters Patent were issued authorising the Governor to annex these territories to the Cape of Good Hope, providing the Cape Government would assume the responsibility of governing them. This being done, they were incorporated in 1879. In 1880 the province of Griqualand West was incorporated with the Cape of Good Hope, and under proclamation of January, 1882, certain laws and regulations were issued for the government of the following territories,—Tembuland, Gcalekaland, Emigrant, Tamboonkieland, Bomvanaland, by the Governor of Cape Colony. Again by proclamation of August, 1885, three more territories were added to the Cape, and by a similar warrant passed in July, 1881, St. John's River Territory was annexed in 1884. The Xesibe Country was annexed to the Colony by Letters Patent on August 23rd, and by Proclamation on October 25, 1886. The Rode Valley and Pondoland in 1887. Basutoland, now an independent Colony, formed part of the Cape from 1871 to 1884, and in November, 1895, British Bechuanaland was incorporated with the Cape.

On the 14th of September, 1486, Bartholomew de Diaz, a Portuguese commander, landed in Angola Bay, and eleven years later, Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape. From this time it appears to have been visited by European navigators of all nations. British ships visited the Cape in 1591; and about 1602 the Dutch made it a place of call. In 1652 Y. A. van Riebeck, duly commissioned by the "Chamber of Seventeen" at Amsterdam, landed at Table Bay accompanied by one hundred persons, and took possession of what is now Cape Town, on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. In 1795, Holland, having yielded to the French Revolutionary Government, an English force was despatched to the Cape of Good Hope, to secure it against



the French for the Prince of Orange. But the Governor refused to obey the mandate of the Prince, and the British thereupon proceeded to take possession. Capitulation was, however, arranged, and the administration was assumed by General Craig. By the Peace of Amiens the Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Batavian Republic, but it was again captured by a British force in 1806, and at the general peace of 1814, it was ceded in perpetuity to the British Crown.

The following facts indicate the progress that has been made since this eventful occasion :—

*Railways.*—"The Government mileage open for traffic in December, 1897, was 2,253 miles." The capital expended on purchase, construction, and equipment to that date was £21,193,417. The gross receipts for 1896 were £4,078,561, compared with £3,390,093 in 1895.

*Harbours.*—Harbour works on an extensive scale are being constructed at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and New London. The expenditure upon such works at Table Bay, up to the 30th June, 1897, has been £2,399,288. Extensive additions to shipping accommodation have been authorised, and are in course of construction. They consist of an outer harbour, formed in part by the breakwater, and a south arm running parallel to it, which with the inner docks will enclose an area of some 75 acres, with a depth ranging from 24 to 36 feet at low water. "The breakwater is completed to a length of 3,640 feet, and is being extended by 1,500 feet. The graving dock is 500 feet on the keel blocks, with a depth of  $24\frac{1}{2}$  feet over the sill at the entrance at H.W.O.S.T." The patent slip is capable of taking up vessels 1,000 tons. Results similar to these have been achieved both at Port Elizabeth, and at East London.

*Minerals.*—The Diamond Fields of South Africa are situated in the territory known as Griqualand West, which became British territory, by cession from the Griquas, in 1871. The first diamond was found by accident in 1867, and it passed through many hands before its real value

was known. A few more diamonds were found up to the year 1870, when an exploring party, composed chiefly of military officers, placed the fact of diamonds being in the soil of this Colony beyond all doubt. Since that time diamond digging has become an important part of the industrial life in South Africa. In 1871 it was further discovered that diamonds existed not only in the drifts of the old river-beds, and near the present course of the Vaal, but also in the loose red surface-sands which cover the grassy country between that river and a small stream (the Modder) which joins it. The value of diamonds exported in 1894, 1895, and 1896 were respectively £3,013,578, £4,323,308, and £4,195,651.

*Coal.*—Large supplies of coal have been obtained from the place known as Strombergen, amounting in 1896 to 105,365 tons. Rich fields of coal are also reported from other parts of the Colony. Copper, too, in extensive deposits, is reported; the output in 1896 reaching 37,375 tons.

The chief industries are the production of wool, wine, wheat, barley, oats, tobacco, and maize; and the breeding of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, ostriches, &c. The wheat of the Colony is not surpassed by any grown elsewhere. Valuable forests, covering large tracts, are extensively worked. The chief exports are diamonds, wool, copper ore, ostrich feathers, gold, mohair, hides, and skins. The chief imports are textiles, leather, sugar, coffee, hardware, explosives, and machinery. According to the census of 1891, the population of Cape Colony was 1,527,224. The imports of the Colony in 1896 were valued at £17,935,039, and the exports £16,951,838.

#### CEYLON.

Ceylon is an island in the Indian Ocean, off the southern extremity of Hindustan. Its greatest width is  $140\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and its area is said to be 25,365 square miles, so that it is about equal in size to Holland. Ceylon was visited in the early ages by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Venetians.

In 1505 the Portuguese formed settlements on the west and south of the island ; but during the next century, they were dispossessed by the Dutch. In 1795-96 the British took possession of the Dutch settlements, and these were annexed to the Presidency of Madras. Five years later Ceylon was constituted a separate colony. The most important products of Ceylon are rice, coffee, tea, cinchona, cocoanuts, cinnamon, tobacco, and cocoa. There are 299 plumbago mines in the island, averaging in yield over 23,000 tons annually. There are also 361 gem quarries. The pearl fisheries, for which Ceylon is famous, are located on the banks which fringe the east coast. They have for many years been carried on by the Government. The population is 3,008,466. The exports are valued at 68,464,574 ; and the imports at 87,788,085 rupees.

#### THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

The Falkland Islands, in the South Atlantic, are 1,000 miles due south of Monte Video, and 480 miles north-north-east of Cape Horn, and are described as East and West Falkland. They have an area of 6,500 square miles ; but in addition there are 100 small islands with an area of 1,200 square miles ; and still another group, called South Georgia, situated  $54\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south and  $36^{\circ}$  to  $38^{\circ}$  west, which is a dependency of the Falkland Islands, and covers an area of about 1,000 square miles. The aggregate square mileage of all the groups is 7,500.

The Falkland Islands were discovered by Davis in 1592, and visited by Hawkin in 1594. In 1763 they were taken by France, and Bougainville planted a small colony of Arcadians in East Falkland. But the Spaniards were jealous of interference in the Southern Seas, and accordingly bought out Bougainville in 1764. In the following year Captain Byron took possession of West Falkland, and left a small garrison there, which, however, was driven out by the Spaniards in 1770. It was restored during the year following, but the island was abandoned in 1774, and no

further attempt at occupation was made until 1820, when the Republic of Buenos Ayres established a settlement, which the Americans destroyed in 1831. In 1833 the Falkland Islands were taken possession of by the British Government, for the protection of the whale fishery. The Colony received regular grants in aid from 1841 to 1880, and for mail service down to 1884-85; but since that date they have been entirely self-supporting. The climate—except for those pre-disposed to pulmonary affections—is severe but healthy. The entire country is wild moorland interspersed with rocks and stones. The sole industry is sheep-farming, and the exporting of sheep for breeding purposes to Chili and Patagonia. Meat has lately been exported to England in refrigerators. The chief export is wool, the other export being frozen mutton, sheep skins, hides, horns, bones, and tallow. The imports are textile goods, alcohol, hardware, &c. The population is 1,992. Imports, £62,985 and exports £132,194.

#### FIJI.

The colony of Fiji comprises all the islands, rocks, and reefs lying between latitude 15° and 22° S.; and between longitude 167° W. and 175° E. It is distant from Sydney about 1,900 miles, and from Auckland 1,200 miles. The number of the islands have been computed at from 200 to 250, but this includes mere uninhabited rocks, and islets. There are seven islands that are inhabited, and including the Colony of Rotuah; their area is 7,435 square miles, which is about the same as Wales.

Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and visited by Captain Cook in 1769. Missionaries settled in Fiji in 1835. The question of annexing the Fiji Islands has been agitated both in Australia and England since 1869; and in August, 1873, two commissioners were appointed to investigate and report upon the matter. The following year, 1874, the commissioners reported an offer of the cession of the sovereignty of the islands from the chiefs, but on terms

which were not acceptable, and Sir Hercules Robinson, then Governor of New South Wales, was sent to Fiji to negotiate further. His mission was entirely successful, and the islands were ceded to Great Britain by the principal chiefs in 1874.

The trade and commerce of the Colony depends on three industries, the cultivation, manufacture, and export of sugar, of copra—the dried kernel of cocoanuts—and fruit, principally bananas and pine-apples. There are also such minor products as peanuts, cotton, tobacco, ginger, arrowroot, &c. The population of Fiji is 120,500. Imports £242,492, and exports £435,342.

#### GAMBIA.

The River Gambia, in West Africa, from which the colony known as British Gambia derives its name, is a great river of West Africa which falls into the Atlantic by an estuary measuring in some parts nearly twenty-seven miles across. On this river are situated the islands of St. Mary, British Combo, Albreda, the Ceded Mile, and Macarthy Island; and of these the Colony is composed. The area of territory is about sixty-nine square miles, which compares with the size of Jersey and Guernsey. The Gambia district was discovered by the early Portuguese navigators, but they founded no settlements. In 1588 a patent was granted by Queen Elizabeth to some merchants in Exeter to trade with the Gambia, and in 1618 a company was formed for this purpose. This company was, however, unsuccessful; another company was formed two years later, but this also ended in disaster. What proved to be a permanent establishment of trade on the Gambia was made in 1724, but it was concerned mainly with the traffic in *slaves*, and it was very seriously shaken when that traffic was abolished.

The principal products of the Colony are ground nuts, hides, bees-wax, india-rubber, maize, palm kernels, &c. The imports are cotton goods, spirits, tobacco, rice, kola nuts,

hardware, &c. The population of the Gambia is given at 14,266. The imports £110,324, and exports £116,981.

#### GIBRALTAR.

Gibraltar is a narrow peninsula running southwards from the south-west of Spain. It consists of two long and high mountains which are known as "The Rock." The area is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  square miles. Gibraltar—the "Mons Calpe" of the Ancients—remained under the dominion of the Moors until the fifteenth century, when it was incorporated into the Spanish Kingdom of Granada. It was captured by the British forces, under Sir George Rooke, in July, 1704, and ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. Gibraltar is extensively used as a port of call, and as a coaling station. Extensive works for an enclosed harbour are now in progress, under the direction of the Admiralty, and also works for constructing graving docks.

#### THE GOLD COAST.

The Gold Coast is situated in Upper Guinea, and it is bounded on the west by the French settlements of Assinie, and on the east by the German Colony of Togoland. Its area is estimated at 61,000 square miles.

The Gold Coast is believed to have been discovered in the fourteenth century by the French. The first really historic account extant concerning this part of the coast is that in the year 1366 a company, "The Rouen Company," was formed to trade with West Africa. Thirty years later the French established themselves in force at La Mine (now called Elmina), and built a large castle there. The fame of the wealth of the Gold Coast attracted a large number of adventurers from all nations. In 1672 an English Company was formed which, in addition to building several forts, strengthened the castle already existing. This company was succeeded in 1750 by another company, which was constituted by Act of Parliament, and subsidised by Parliament. In 1850 the Danish Protectorate, which

included a country inhabited by several different tribes, was transferred to Great Britain on payment of the sum of £10,000 to the King of Denmark. In 1871, at the convention of Hague, the Dutch abandoned their rights on the Coast to Great Britain. Trouble with the kingdom of Ashanti in 1872 culminated in the annexation of that territory in 1894.

The staple products of the Gold Coast are kola nuts, dye stuffs, and substances used in tanning, gold dust, Guinea grain, gum copal, ivory, monkey skins, and furs of divers kinds, palm kernels, and other varieties of oil-pressing nuts, palm oil, rubber, timber, &c. The population of the Gold Coast Colony is approximately 1,473,882. Imports £778,009, and exports £792,111.

### HONG KONG.

Hong Kong is one of a number of islands situated off the south-eastern coast of China, and at the mouth of the Canton River. Its length is eleven miles, its breadth about five miles. It is separated from the mainland of China by a narrow strait. The opposite peninsula, Kowloon, which was ceded by the Chinese Government to Great Britain in 1861 by treaty, includes numerous islets, and all these form part of the Colony, whose area is  $31\frac{2}{3}$  square miles. The colony of Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain in January, 1841, the cession being confirmed by the treaty of Nankin in 1842. It did not become of much commercial importance until the discovery of gold in Australia in 1851, which led to a remarkable Chinese emigration. Its trade has gradually increased with the opening up of China to foreign trade. Large local banking, docks, steamboat, and insurance companies were established between 1865 and 1872; and the trade has been greatly increased by the opening of the Suez Canal. The City is the *dépôt* of an incessant flow of Chinese immigration and emigration: the number representing the two classes in the year 1896 was 186,290.

The island itself produces little or nothing of value, but on account of its position it has been made the centre of an enormous trade, consisting of such articles as opium, sugar, flour, salt, earthenware, oil, amber, cotton and cotton goods, sandalwood, ivory, betel, vegetables, live stock, granite, &c. The transactions of the tea and silk trade are also largely controlled by Hong Kong firms. There are a few manufactories producing such articles as ropes, sugar, rum, paper, vermilion, sauce, bricks, and bamboos; and there are stores of other kinds of produce. The population of Hong Kong is 245,000. The Imports are estimated at £25,000,000, and the Exports at £20,000,000, of which nearly half is in trade with China.

#### JAMAICA.

Jamaica is situated in the Caribbean Sea, to the southward of the eastern extremity of Cuba. It is the largest of the British West India Islands, embracing an area of 41,296 square miles. The dependencies of Jamaica lying in  $19^{\circ} 10'$  and  $19^{\circ} 45'$  N. latitude, and  $79^{\circ} 30'$  and  $80^{\circ} 35'$  W. longitude, are some five islands with an area of 89 square miles. Jamaica was discovered by Columbus in 1492; the first settlement made in the island was by Diego, son of the distinguished discoverer. After remaining in the possession of Spain for 161 years, it surrendered to the British force sent by Cromwell, under Generals Penn and Venables, against Hispaniola, on the 11th of May, 1655. In the Treaty of Madrid, in 1670, Spain recognised England's right to the Colony. Up to the time of the Restoration Jamaica remained under military rule, but after the Restoration civil government was established by Charles II. The Colony grew rapidly under the stimulus of the wealth brought into it by the Buccaneers. When the slave-trade was abolished, in 1807, there were 323,827 slaves in Jamaica. During the last eight years of the trade, 86,821 slaves were imported, and on the abolition, in



1833, out of the £20,000,000 with which the slave-holders were compensated, Jamaica received £6,161,927.

The chief industries of Jamaica are fruit, sugar, coffee, ginger, pimento, rum, dye-woods, cocoa, &c. The imports are food stuffs, clothing, hardware, alcohol, and building materials. The population is 639,491. Imports £1,856,377, and Exports £1,470,241.

#### LABUAN.

The island of Labuan is situated on the north-west coast of Borneo. The area is 30·23 square miles, and its distance from the coast of Borneo is six miles. The uninhabited island was ceded to Great Britain, by the Sultan of Borneo, in 1846, and occupied in 1848. The existence of rich coal deposits in Labuan had created in the new settlement great expectations of success; these, however, have been only moderately realised. But since the reconstruction of the company working it a somewhat more favourable aspect has come over the concern. Labuan furnishes a market for much of the produce of the neighbouring coasts of Borneo, and the Lulu Archipelago, articles such as sago, bees-wax, edible birds' nests, camphor, gutta-percha, india-rubber, rattan, pearls, tortoiseshell, and trepang. The commodities are forwarded by the Labuan traders to Singapore. Cattle and goats are also reared, and 2,000 acres are estimated to be under cultivation. The settlement of Labuan has a population of 1,006 souls, of whom six are Europeans, and the rest coolies. Imports £121,549, and Exports £118,787.

#### LAGOS.

The Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, in West Africa, is situated in the Bight of Benin. Its sphere of influence extends to the 9th parallel of latitude, and embraces the whole of the vast country of the Yorubas. Ikorodu is the latest acquisition to the Colony. This was ceded in August, 1894. The Jebu strip, on the north bank of the lagoon,

now extends from Orichi, on the Ogun River in a direct line half a mile to the north of the village of Majoda, and from thence proceeds due east to the Osheen River. By this acquisition the Colony commands all the routes to the interior. The Protectorate, besides the Awori Country. Jebu Rimo, Mahin, Itebu, Ayrnan, and Ibu, comprises five kingdoms, and extends up to the town of Ogbo on the east, where it adjoins the territory of the Niger Coast Protectorate. Both the Colony and the Protectorate cover a tract of country computed at 1,500 square miles. The King of Lagos (Kosoko) refused to co-operate in putting down the slave-trade, and he was consequently expelled by a British force in 1851, and his cousin Akitoyo was placed on the throne. A treaty was concluded with this prince, in which he agreed to put down the slave-trade; but he failed to fulfil this obligation, and was therefore induced, in 1861, to cede his possessions to Great Britain.

There are no manufactures, except the weaving of native cloths and mats, boats and canoe-building; and brick-making. A saw-mill has recently been established, and native builders, carpenters, and blacksmiths, do good work. Fishing is extensively pursued in the inland waters, the fish being dried and sent into the interior. Lagos was formerly one of the *entrepôts* for the export of slaves. It has an unrivalled water communication with the interior, by means of a network of lagoons and creeks. A very extensive trade has therefore grown up, amounting in 1893 to over a million and a half pounds. The principal exports are palm oil and kernels, cotton goods, rubber, country cloths, rum, geneva, specie, and tobacco. Chief imports are cotton goods, spirits, tobacco, and hardware. The population of Lagos and its dependency is 3,000,000. The Imports are valued at £901,475; Exports £975,263.

#### THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

The English Leeward Islands, except Sombrero, comprise the Presidencies of Antigua with its dependencies,

Barbreda and Redonda, Montserrat, St. Kitts, and Nevis, including Auguilla, Dominica, and the Virgin Islands. These were constituted a single Federal Colony by an Act of Parliament in 1871. The total area of the Federation is 704 square miles. The islands were discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, and they became British possessions two centuries later. Their population is 127,723. Imports £416,293, and Exports £331,534.

#### MALTA.

The Maltese Islands form a group in the Mediterranean about 58 miles from the nearest point of Sicily, 80 miles from Syracuse, 142 from Reggio, and about 180 from the nearest point of the mainland of Africa. The group consists of three islands and islets, and has an area of 116 square miles. Of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, mention is made at a very early date. The Phœnicians settled in them B.C. 1519, according to some authors, others give as the date B.C. 1400. Diodorus Siculus describes Malta and Gozo as important and prosperous Phœnician Colonies. They were afterwards under the dominion of the Greeks, and then of the Carthaginians.

During the Punic wars the Maltese islands fell alternately to the lot of the Carthaginians and Romans, and were ultimately occupied by the latter. It was at the time of the Roman occupation that the shipwreck of St. Paul, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, took place. On the decline of the Roman Empire, Malta fell into the hands of the Goths, and then into those of the Saracens, who, in 1090, were expelled by Count Roger the Norman. It was under the dominion of the House of Aragon from 1190 until 1530, when it was granted by the Roman Emperor, Charles V., to the Order of the Knights of St. John, by whom it was held for more than two centuries. In July, 1798, the Grand Master, Hompesch, capitulated to Napoleon Bonaparte, who dispersed the Order. The Maltese, however, rose against the French, causing them to take refuge

in the towns, where they were closely blockaded by the British fleet, aided by the Maltese, for two years. The French, reduced to extremities, surrendered, and the Government was placed in the hands of Great Britain in 1800. Malta was finally annexed to the British Crown by the Treaty of Paris in 1814.

The island is highly cultivated, its principal products are cotton, potatoes, and corn. The vine is grown, and oranges of a very superior quality are cultivated. Early crops of potatoes and onions are exported to England. Cattle, horses, and sheep are reared in large numbers. Very many of the population are engaged in an enormous trade at Valetta, which is a coaling station, *entrepôt*, and port of call. The population of Malta is 165,037. Imports on dutiable goods are £885,315, and exports £43,276. The transit trade of grain, alcohol, cattle, &c.—which are not landed—amount, in addition, to twenty millions sterling annually. There is also a large trade in non-dutiable goods. The total Imports are probably £2,500,000 yearly, and the total Exports about half a million.

#### MAURITIUS.

Mauritius is an island in the Indian Ocean. It is 115 miles from Réunion, 940 from Seychelles, 1,300 miles from Natal, 2,300 from the Cape, 500 from Madagascar, and 11,000 from England. With its dependencies, which number about one hundred islands, Mauritius extends over an area of 877 square miles. It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1507, but those who first occupied it in any great numbers were the Dutch, by whose commander, Admiral Van Treck, it was named Mauritius, in honour of the Statholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau. But the Dutch, although they built a fort at Grand Port, do not appear to have made any permanent settlement, and they finally abandoned the island in 1712. In 1715 a party of Frenchmen landed in the island; in 1721 it was formally taken possession of by the French, on behalf of

the French East India Company; and in 1767 on behalf of the Crown of France. The most celebrated of the French Governors was Mahé de Labourdonnais, a man—according to Macaulay—of eminent talents and virtues. This Governor, who was the real founder of the prosperity of Mauritius, introduced and cultivated the sugar-cane, and many other valuable plants. Mauritius was, during the earlier part of the long war, a great source of mischief to our merchant vessels, owing to the facility with which sorties were made from it by the French men-of-war and privateers, hence the British Government determined on an expedition for its capture, which was effected in 1810.

The island produces hardly anything for its own consumption, but its foreign commerce extends to every quarter of the globe. The chief exports are sugar, rum, molasses, spice, vanilla, aloe-fibre, oil, soap, &c. Attention is now being turned to the cultivation of tea, with very successful results. Oxen are imported from Madagascar, sheep from South Africa and Australia, and bread stuffs from India. Imports consist mainly of rice, wheat, cotton manufactures, wine, coals, hardware, and manures. The population of Mauritius is 370,588. Imports £2,250,146. Exports £3,189,375. Area 877 square miles.

#### NATAL.

The Colony of Natal derives its name from the fact that Vasco da Gama, the celebrated Portuguese navigator, discovered it on Christmas day, 1497. It lies on the south-east coast of Africa, about 800 miles from the Cape of Good Hope, and comprises an area of 20,851 square miles.

It is more than one-third of the size of England and Wales together. It has a seaboard of 170 miles. It is a well-watered country, with no less than twenty-three distinct rivers running into the Indian Ocean. From the time of the discovery by the Portuguese in 1497, little is known about Natal until 1686, when a Dutch

vessel was wrecked in the bay. The Dutch formed a settlement in 1721, but they soon abandoned it. In 1824 Lieutenant Farewell, of the Royal Navy, having in the previous year visited Natal on an exploring voyage, endeavoured to colonise it. Chaka, a chief of the greatest talent, who had fused into a nation the various tribes then inhabiting the country, sanctioned the formation of a settlement by this small band of white men. But the settlement was broken up four years later. Towards the close of 1837 a large body of Dutch Boers from Cape Colony, taking offence at restrictions placed upon them by the British Government, with respect to their coloured servants, migrated to Natal. Many of them were treacherously murdered by Dingaan, who was then the Zulu chief. He was also the murderer and successor of his brother Chaka. For two years the Zulus and Boers waged war with alternating success, but in 1839 the Boers obtained a decisive victory. Owing chiefly to these disturbances, the Governor of the Cape decided to take military possession of Natal, and sent there, in 1842, a force under Captain Smith. The troops came into collision with the Boers and were defeated; being completely blockaded they were forced to entrench themselves until the arrival of considerable reinforcements under Colonel Cloete. The Boers submitted on the 5th of July to Colonel Cloete at Pietermaritzburg, and the following year Natal was proclaimed a British Colony.

There are 428 miles of railway in Natal. The chief exports are wool, sugar, tea, hides, gold, coal, maize, wattle-bark, and ostrich feathers. The population is 543,913. Imports £6,418,266. Exports £1,995,173.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

Newfoundland is an island situated on the north-east side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The greatest length from north to south is 350 miles, and the average breadth is 130 miles. The island has an area of 40,200 square

miles. A part of Labrador, with an area of 120,000 square miles, was in 1876, under Letters Patent, included in the Colony of Newfoundland. The island of Newfoundland was discovered by John Cabot in 1497; it was as early as 1500 frequented by the Portuguese, Spaniards, and French, for the sake of its fisheries. Sir Walter Raleigh and others, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, attempted to colonise this island, but they were unsuccessful. In 1623 Sir G. Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, established himself in the Peninsula of Avalon, the south-east part of the island, and appointed his son governor. In 1634 a party of Colonists was sent over from Ireland, and twenty years later, some English Colonists arrived. The French, about 1620, established a station at Placentia, and for many years the French and English settlers were constantly annoying one another. But at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, subsequently ratified by the Treaty of Paris, the exclusive sovereignty of Newfoundland was acknowledged to belong to Great Britain, certain rights being reserved to French fishermen.

The industries of the island are fishing, agriculture, mining, and lumbering. They are mainly confined to the coast. Copper is largely worked for export at Tilt Cove and Little Bay; iron pyrites at Pilley's Island on the north-east coast; and asbestos, lead, silver, coal, and gold are found in the interior, from Port-au-Port on the west coast. The cod-fishing is the staple industry, and after it seal, lobster, herring, and salmon. The population of Newfoundland is 202,040. Imports £1,197,372. Exports £1,327,637.

#### NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Colony of New South Wales lies on the south-eastern coast of Australia, and has an area of 310,700 square miles, or 198,848,000 acres. It is about two and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland together. This part of the Australian coast is said to have been discovered by the Portuguese and Dutch navigators, in the

seventeenth century; but no settlements were made by them. Captain Cook explored it in 1770, and gave it the name which it bears; but the first settlement was not founded until 1788, when the convict station—intended for Botany Bay—was established at Port Jackson. The settlement of New South Wales at first included the whole eastern portion of the Continent. In 1803 it had a population of 4,958. The discovery of gold in 1851 led to the very rapid growth of what is now called Victoria. This was settled in 1836, and became a separate Colony in 1851.

Wool is the great staple produce of this Colony. It was valued in 1896 at £8,776,529. Other articles of export are silver and lead ore, coal, coke, cattle, sheep, horses, skins, hides, tallow, meats, leather, tin, copper, shale (kerosene), butter, flour, wheat, timber, and gold. Imports consist of wearing apparel, iron, steel, railway and tramway plant, &c. The population of New South Wales is 1,311,440. Imports £20,561,510. Exports £23,010,349.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

The Colony of New Zealand comprises three large islands, the North, the Middle, and the South. Lying off these there are clusters of islets, and the whole make up an area of 104,471 square miles, which is about twice the area of England. New Zealand was discovered in 1642 by the Dutch navigator, Tasman. In 1769 it was visited by Captain Cook, who, in that year and in subsequent voyages, explored its coasts. In 1840, the native chiefs ceded the sovereignty of New Zealand to Great Britain by the Treaty of Waitangi.

All the products of the temperate climates of Europe and Asia can be cultivated with great success in New Zealand. There are also extensive coal mines, and rich gold-fields; of this latter the annual production is about one million sterling. In addition to the export of gold and also wool, since 1882 frozen meat has entered the



export department of trade, and whereas in that year the export of this article was valued at £93,104, by a steady advance it has now reached £1,251,993. The population of New Zealand is 703,360. Imports £7,137,370. Exports £9,321,105.

#### PITCAIRN, NORFOLK, LORD HOWE ISLANDS.

Pitcairn is an island midway between Australia and America, with an area of two square miles, and a population of ninety souls. Norfolk Island is the principal island of a group lying 900 miles E.N.E. of Sydney, with an area of twelve square miles, and inhabited by 738 souls. Lord Howe Island is a dependency of New South Wales, and has a population of sixty-three persons.

#### QUEENSLAND.

Queensland occupies the whole of the north-eastern portion of Australia. Its territory commences at a point on the east coast called Point Danger, about 400 miles north of Sydney.

It has an area of 668,479 square miles, or 427,838,080 acres, which represent an expanse of territory three times the size of the German Empire and Belgium together. Captain Cook landed in Moreton Bay in 1770, but the Brisbane River, running into Moreton Bay, was not discovered until 1823. The Moreton Bay Settlement was formed, from New South Wales, in 1824. The separate existence of Queensland as a Colony began in 1859, its inhabitants being then 25,000. Between the range of mountains called the "Main," and the sea, especially on the banks of the rivers, there is a considerable quantity of good alluvial land, which in its natural state is covered with a dense forest. But much of the land in the more settled portions of the country has been cleared and cultivated, and it yields to the farmers remunerative returns. Such articles as maize, arrowroot, English and sweet potatoes, are grown. Sugar growing has become a

very important industry, the acreage of sugar-cane being 83,093, whilst maize occupies 115,715 acres, and tobacco 996 acres. The chief exports are wool, gold, sugar, live stock, tin, silver, meat, hides, skin, and tallow. Imports consist of textiles, tea, flour, hardware, and machinery. The population of Queensland is 393,718. Imports £5,433,271. Exports £9,163,726.

#### ST. HELENA.

St. Helena is an island in the South Atlantic Ocean, 800 miles south-east of Ascension, and 1,200 miles from the coast of Africa. Uninhabited, and well wooded, this island was discovered by the Portuguese in May, 1502. For a time the Portuguese succeeded in keeping the situation of the island from the knowledge of the other nations of Europe. They built a church there, but appear to have made no permanent settlement. The Dutch held St. Helena from 1645-50, when they abandoned it. The East India Company took possession of the island in 1651, and a charter for its administration was granted in 1661. The English finally recaptured the island, after its seizure by the Dutch in 1673. A new charter was granted by Charles II. to the East India Company for its occupation, and it remained under the Company's control, with the exception of the period of Napoleon's imprisonment, until 1834, when it was brought under the direct rule of the British Government. Previous to the opening of the overland route, St. Helena was a port of call for a large part of the shipping and passengers to and from India, and other parts of the East. In consequence of its importance in connection with Eastern Trade, large establishments, both civil and military, were maintained on the island. Its present trade depends exclusively upon its intercourse with the Antarctic whalers, and with the ships in distress that may call there. The population of St. Helena is 4,116. Imports £30,950. Exports £4,739. It has an area of forty-seven square miles.

### SIERRA LEONE.

Sierra Leone proper is an African peninsula terminating in Cape Sierra Leone, and bounded on the north by a river of the same name. Including several outlying districts, the Colony covers 4,000 square miles. The peninsula was ceded to Great Britain in 1787 by the native chiefs. Four years later a charter was granted to a Company called "The Sierra Leone Company" for the purpose of establishing a settlement for freed Negro slaves. But after the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1807, the Colony was transferred back to the Crown. In 1862, two large tracts of country, called British Kwaia and Sherbro, were handed over by a treaty to the Colony. In 1884 the seaboard of the Sulymah and Gallinas chiefs, as far as the Mannah River, was also annexed. In 1896 and 1897 Ordinances providing for the administration of the Protectorate were passed. The inhabitants are born traders, acting as middlemen, not only in the interior of the country behind Sierra Leone, but on the Niger, and in all commercial centres of West Africa; exchanging European goods for the native products. Agriculture is much neglected, and there are no manufactures except the weaving of native cloths, boat building, tanning, and mat-making. The products of the interior constituting the principal exports are palm oil, and kernels, beni-seed, ground-nuts, india-rubber, copal, hides, and ginger. The imports are chiefly spirits, tobacco, cotton-goods, furniture, hardware. The population of Sierra Leone is estimated at 126,835. Imports £494,688. Exports £449,033.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

South Australia is that portion of the continent that is bounded on the east by 141st degree of east longitude, on the north by the 26th degree of south latitude, on the west by the 132nd degree of east longitude, and on the south by the Southern Ocean. It was constituted a British

Province in the previous reign, and was added to in the present reign from the territory known as "No Man's Land." All that tract of country known as the Northern territory has also been incorporated in the Colony; and the whole of these territories are estimated as 903,609 square miles, an area equalling France and Germany combined. The south of the Colony was surveyed by Flinders in 1802. Sturt, in 1829, discovered the Murray River and its upper tributaries. The South Australia Company was formed in England in 1834, under Act of Parliament, and the first settlements were made on Kangaroo Island, and at Adelaide, in 1836.

It may be roughly estimated that not more than 150,000 square miles of the area of the Colony, excluding the Northern territory, are at present put to profitable use. Agricultural settlements have not reached beyond three hundred miles from the coast. About two-thirds of the total cultivated land is cropped with wheat. Vine-culture is an important and progressive industry, and in 1896, 18,133 acres of land were devoted to it alone. The slopes of the hills produce wines of a full-bodied character, similar to those of Spain and Portugal; whilst the wines made in the more elevated parts resemble the lighter wines of the Rhine. Considerable attention too has been paid to the drying of raisins and currants. Of the former 7,097 cwt. was reported in 1896. Almond trees are of rapid growth; and large quantities of a superior description of soft-shell almond are gathered yearly for home consumption, and for shipment. The Colony possesses all the conditions requisite for the successful and profitable culture of olives. Olive-oil of the most delicate flavour has been expressed, and has gained awards at the various exhibitions. Several slate quarries yielding an excellent quality of slate, and over 100 building-stone quarries have been opened. Out of £3,269,612 worth of staple produce exported in 1896, the value of bread stuffs amounted to £643,332, wool was valued at £1,228,991, and copper £219,052. The population of the entire Colony, with the aborigines included and

all Chinese, is 358,116. Imports £7,160,770. Exports £7,594,054.

#### THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

The Straits Settlements, which include Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, were transferred from the control of the Indian Government to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in April, 1867, by an Order in Council. Singapore is an island in the southern extremity of the Malayan Peninsula. It is twenty-seven miles long and fourteen wide. Penang is an island fifteen miles long and nine miles wide, situated off the west coast of the Malayan Peninsula. Malacca is on the western coast between Singapore and Penang, 110 miles from the former, and 240 from the latter. This Colony possesses also three dependencies called the Dindings, which include the island of Pangkor. The Straits Settlements, together with Keeling and Christmas Islands, have a total area of 1,542 square miles. Malacca, known as an important independent state from the oldest times, was one of the first European settlements in the East, having been taken possession of by the Portuguese in 1511, and held by them until 1641, when the Dutch, after previous futile attempts, succeeded in driving them out. The settlement remained under the Dutch rule till 1795, when the English gained possession of it, their hold lasting until 1818, when it was restored to the Dutch, to be finally surrendered to England by a treaty with Holland in 1824, in exchange for Bencoolen, a possession of the East India Company on the west coast of Sumatra. Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, was the first British settlement on the Malayan Peninsula. It was ceded to the English by the Raja of Kedah in 1785. The island of Pangkor, and the Sembilan Islands, were ceded by Pérak in 1826, with a view to the suppression of piracy. There is some evidence of Singapore having been an important trading centre in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the tradition is that the place was attacked and devastated in 1252 by the Javanese. Thenceforth the

island was scarcely inhabited until it was taken possession of by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, by virtue of a treaty with the Jahor Princes.

The chief exports of the Straits Settlements are tin, sugar, pepper, nutmeg, mace, sago, tapioca, rice, buffalo-hides and horns, rattans, gutta, india-rubber, gambier, gum, coffee, dye-stuffs, tobacco, &c. The population of the Straits Settlements is 512,342. Imports £40,268,740. Exports £34,744,162.

#### TASMANIA.

Tasmania is an island in the western extremity of the continent of Australia, from which it is divided by the Bass Straits, which are 120 miles wide. The Colony of Victoria is on the other side of the Straits. Tasmania has an area of 26,216 square miles, and it was discovered in 1642 by the Dutch navigator, Abel Jan Tasman, and by him named Van Dieman's Land, the name by which it was known down to 1853. It was formally taken possession of by England in 1803, and made auxiliary to the penal settlement at Botany Bay. The first free emigrants arrived in 1816, and responsible government was established in 1856. Tasmania possesses a great source of wealth in her minerals, which are now being worked to good account. Coal, abundant in quantity and good in quality, is found in many parts of the island. The north-eastern portion of the island is also rich in tin. There exists besides an enormous lode of bismuth, and it is said to be the richest in the world. Copper and antimony have been found, the copper holding thirty per cent. of the metal. Iron ores exist in great quantities, but have not yet been worked. Great discoveries of silver have been made in the neighbourhood of Mount Zeehan and Mount Dundas, on the west coast. The principal exports of Tasmania are wool, tin, grain, fruit-preserves, gold, copper, hides, skins and leather, hops, sperm oil, timber, vegetables, and tanning-bark. The value of some of the

exports in 1896 was : tin, £159,038 ; gold, £232,180 ; silver, £222,948 ; jams, fruits, &c., £169,705 ; timber and bark, £61,426 ; wood, £290,971 ; potatoes, £129,884 ; and copper, £1,659. The population is 146,667. Imports £1,192,410. Exports £1,496,576.

#### TRINIDAD.

This island lies about 16 miles to the east of Venezuela. Its average length is about 48 miles ; its breadth, 35 miles, and its area 1,754 square miles. It is separated from the Continent of America by the Gulf of Paria, into which the northern mouths of the Orinoco fall. Trinidad was discovered by Columbus on his third voyage, in 1498, and taken possession of for Spain. It was visited by Sir Robert Dudley, and by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1595. The latter signalled his visit by burning the newly-founded town of St. Joseph. In 1640 it was razed by the Dutch, and in 1677 and 1690 by the French. In 1799, Great Britain being at war with Spain, a British expedition sailed from Martinique for the reduction of Trinidad, with the result that on the 18th of February, 1797, articles of capitulation were signed by Sir R. Abercrombie, Admiral Harvey, and Chacon, the Spanish Governor. In 1802 it was finally ceded, by the treaty of Amiens, to Great Britain.

The soil of Trinidad is extremely fertile, and it is well adapted to the growth of tropical products ; sugar and cocoa are its staples. It also grows tobacco of a superior quality. Molasses, rum, bitters, and cocoanuts are among its exports. A pitch lake, 109 to 114 acres in extent, is situated in the ward of La Brea, distant by water about 30 miles from Port of Spain, which is of considerable value, giving a revenue in 1896 of £25,370. Of the total area of Trinidad, which is estimated at about 1,120,000 acres, the alienated acreage at the end of 1896 was computed at 438,234 acres. About 200,000 acres are under cultivation, 681,766 acres remain ungranted. The population of Trinidad is estimated at 248,404. Imports £2,463,525. Exports £2,165,820.

## TOBAGO.

Tobago was discovered by Columbus in the year 1498, at which time it was occupied by the Caribs. It has an area of 14 square miles. The British flag was planted on the island in 1580, and sovereignty was claimed by James I. in 1608. In 1628 a grant of the island was made by Charles I. to the Earl of Pembroke, but it was not occupied until 1632, when three hundred Zealanders were sent out by a company of Dutch merchants, who named the country New Walcheren. After a residence of about two years, the settlers were all either destroyed or expelled by the Indians and Spaniards from Trinidad. After this, rival claims for the supremacy of the island were put forth by the Dutch, the English, and the French. In 1781, under the Duke of Bouillie, it was captured by the French; and in 1783 it was surrendered by treaty to France. In 1793 it was taken by Admiral Lefroy and General Cuyler, to be once more restored to France by the Treaty of Peace in 1802. Its capture by Commander Hood and General Greenfield finally led to its being ceded to Great Britain. With the exception of pitch (of which there is none in Tobago), the commercial capacity is similar to that of Trinidad. The population is 18,353. Imports £13,932, and Exports £10,765.

## THE TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS.

These islands lie between 21° and 22° N. lat., and 71°, 72° 37' W. long. Their area is 169 square miles—about the size of Rutland. The most important island of the group is Grand Turk, which claims, like so many of the others, to have been the scene of the discovery of Columbus. The group remained uninhabited till the end of the seventeenth century, when it began to be annually visited by salt-rakers from Bermudas. They were expelled by the Spaniards in 1710, but soon returned, and for some forty years continued this industry



with more or less frequent interruptions from the Spaniards. It was not, however, till 1799 that, for the purposes of government, they were included in the Colony of Bahamas, and placed under the Governor of Jamaica. This arrangement still continues. Salt-raking is the one industry of these islands, the export of salt amounting, in 1896, to £29,207. The population is 4,744. Imports £30,245, and Exports £31,497.

#### VICTORIA.

This Colony is situated at the south-east of the Continent of Australia. Its extreme length from east to west is about 490 miles; its greatest breadth is about 300 miles, and its extent of coastline nearly 700 miles. The area of Victoria is computed at 87,884 square miles, so that it is nearly equal to Great Britain. Captain Cook, and the officers and crew of His Majesty's ship *Endeavour*, are believed to have been the first Europeans who ever sighted this territory, but they made no attempt to land. On his return to England Cook reported the eastern portion of Australia to be suitable for colonisation, and this led to a party of convicts being despatched there in 1788, under Captain Arthur Phillips, R.N. On the shores of Port Jackson, a few miles to the north of Botany Bay, Phillips established a permanent settlement, but for nearly ten years afterwards nothing was done towards the exploration of the southern shores of Australia. Following this period of inactivity, broken only by the unsuccessful attempt of George Bess to discover Port Phillip Bay, and the discovery of that bay by Lieutenant Murray in January, 1802, an ineffectual attempt was made in October of the next year, by Lieut.-Col. David Collins, to colonise Phillip Bay, and a similar attempt was made, on the report of Hume and Howell, to form a permanent settlement at Western Port Bay. The first permanent settlement in Victoria was effected at Portland Bay, by Mr. Edward

Henty, of Tasmania, in 1834, when the tillage of the soil, the breeding of stock, and the whaling enterprise began.

The main industry is agriculture. But out of an aggregate of 56,245,760 acres, only 3,097,998 are at present in cultivation. The products are wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and hay. Besides these, 28,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of the vine, and these yield 2,227,000 gallons of wine and 11,183 cwts. of raisins. Enormous deposits of brown coal exist ; and seams of true coal of good quality have been discovered, and are being worked with great success. The quantity of black coal raised in 1896 was 226,562 tons. The chief exports, other than wool and gold, which comprise more than three-fifths of the total, are grain, flour, butter, cheese, hides and skins, live-stock, leather, and tallow. The chief imports are wool, gold, textiles, timber, and apparel, sugar, live-stock, woollen goods, coal, tea, and iron. The population of Victoria is estimated at 1,174,944. Imports £14,554,837, and Exports £14,198,518.

#### WEST AUSTRALIA.

This comprises nearly one-third of the Australian Continent. The total area is 975,920 square miles, equal to one-half of European Russia, or one-quarter of Europe. In 1825 the Government of New South Wales sent a detachment of soldiers to King George's Sound, to form a settlement. In 1827 Captain Stirling, in H.M.S. *Success*, surveyed a portion of the coast ; and in 1829 Captain Fremantle, of H.M.S. *Challenger*, took possession of the territory.

One of the principal industries, as in the case of the other Australian Colonies, is wool-growing. Sheep, of which there are 2,248,975, are depastured in all parts of the Colony. The cultivation of the vine receives also a large amount of attention. And from the forests of West Australia the "Jarrah" wood is obtained, which is well known throughout the world for its extraordinary durability,

and is in great demand for paving, railway-sleepers, piles, bridges, and harbour works. There is a large and increasing export of this timber, and the forest is worked by several companies. Sandal-wood is still abundant, and was exported to Singapore, China, and other places, in 1896, to the value of about £65,800. The export of pearl-shell amounted to £50,212 in 1896. For a long time copper mines were worked in the neighbourhood of "Champion Bay," but the fall in the price of that metal has greatly circumscribed this industry. Since the discovery and opening up of the Central and Eastern gold-fields of Western Australia, gold-mining has become the principal industry of the Colony; and so rapidly has the annual output of gold increased, that it promises at no distant date to place West Australia at the head of the gold-producing Colonies of Australia. The population of Western Australia is 137,946. The Imports £6,493,557. Exports £1,650,226.

#### THE WINDWARD ISLANDS.

The Windward Islands, in the British West Indies, include St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, and Granada. The references already made under the heads of the geography, history, and industries of the other islands of the West Indies apply so completely to these that it is only necessary to state that their area is 525 square miles; their population about 146,000; their Imports £364,052, and their Exports £340,868.

#### ZULULAND.

This territory lies to the north of Natal, from which it is divided by the river Tugela. The Zulus are a warlike people, who, in the beginning of the century, under Chaka, pressed southward, and became consolidated into a powerful and well-organised kingdom. Chaka was murdered, and he was succeeded, in 1828, by Dingaan. Coming into conflict with the emigrant Dutch, Dingaan was deposed in

1839 in favour of his brother Panda. In the latter years of Panda's rule the country was devastated in consequence of the rival ambition of his sons ; but, by the interposition of the Natal Government, the Zulus were induced to recognise one of Panda's sons as heir to the throne. The son chosen, with the approval of the Natal Government as Regent, was Cetywayo, who up to his father's death acted in this capacity. The relations between Cetywayo and Natal, during the first years of his reign, were not unfriendly ; but after the annexation of the Transvaal by England, a material change in the relations of the two Powers took place. The King of Zululand had hated the Boers, with whom he had a boundary dispute, and after the annexation his enmity appeared to have been transferred to the new Government. The Zulus wanted to occupy the whole territory in dispute, and a collision between them and the British Government of the Transvaal appeared imminent ; but it was averted by a joint agreement to submit the matter to arbitration. The result of the arbitration was in favour of the Zulu King. At the same time Cetywayo was required to introduce certain modifications in his kingdom, especially as regards military service, the surrender of certain refugees from Natal, and to pay a fine for harbouring them. The King having failed to carry out these stipulations, their observance was enforced by arms. Accordingly, on the 22nd of January, 1879, two engagements took place, of which the first was disastrous to the British, and the second doubtful, but eventually the Zulus were severely defeated, and the power of the kingdom broken, at the battle of Ulundi, on July 4th. The country was thenceforth divided into districts under independent chiefs, who were responsible to the British Government. Difficulties arose in the working of the new arrangement, but a way out of them was found in the restoration of Cetywayo to power as sovereign. The restored King found Usibepu (who headed his enemies) an implacable and redoubtable enemy, by whom, after a struggle of some months' duration, he was overthrown.

The party of the vanquished monarch, by the aid of some Boer adventurers, inflicted in turn a crushing defeat upon Usibepu. The country by these wars was disorganised and demoralised. Hence the British Government, with the consent of the people, stepped in and took up the reins of government. The territory was, until the end of 1896, administered through a Resident Commissioner ; but by a proclamation on December 29, 1896, Zululand was incorporated with Natal. The pursuits of the Zulus are mainly agricultural ; their wealth consists of cattle. Oxen and maize are exchanged for cotton. Gold has been found at Tequta ; the quantity of gold found in 1896 amounted to 1,503 ounces. The territory is rich in minerals, such as coals, iron, copper, lead, &c. The population of Zululand is estimated at 180,372.

## CHAPTER III

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE—ITS DEPENDENCIES

#### AMATONGALAND.

UNDER this head comes Amatongaland. By Government notice, June 11, 1895, a British Protectorate was declared over this territory of Africa, which is 1,200 square miles in area, and bounded on the north by the Portuguese possessions, on the west and south by Zululand, and on the east by the Indian Ocean. The Amatongas are an independent tribe, which has been ruled for many years by a Paramount Chief, under a form of vassalage to the King of Zululand. Owing probably to the unhealthiness of the country, the Amatongas do not possess the fine physique of the Zulu Race. The population is estimated at 9,000.

#### BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.

This territory is bounded on the south by the Cape Colony, on the east by the South African Republic, on the north by the British South African Company's territory and the Zambesi River, and on the west by the German territory. The estimated area of Bechuanaland Protectorate is 386,200 square miles. During the year 1885 Sir Charles Warren—who was in command of an expedition dispatched from England to pacify South Bechuana-land, where, for some time previously, hostilities had been

proceeding between the Bechuanas and Boers of the South African Republic—visited the principal chiefs in north Bechuanaland, viz., Khama, Gasitsive, and Sebele, and as a result a protectorate was proclaimed over their territories. In 1891, by an Order in Council, the limits of the Bechuanaland Protectorate were more clearly defined, and the High Commissioner was authorised to appoint such officers as might appear necessary to provide for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and generally for the peace and good government of all persons within the limits of the order. Sir Sidney Shippard, the Administrator of Bechuanaland, was appointed Resident Commissioner, and an assistant Commissioner was appointed for the Northern Protectorate, and another for the Southern Protectorate. The population of Bechuanaland is 100,500.

#### BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

The boundaries of British Central Africa, as defined by the Anglo-Portuguese Agreement are, a line starting from the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa, at the point of the parallel of the confluence of the rivers Rovuma and Msinje, and following the shore southwards as far as  $13^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude, whence it runs south-east to the eastern shore of Lake Chiuta, which it follows thence in a direct line to the eastern shore of Lake Chilwa, with which it continues to its south-easternmost point; thence in a direction to the easternmost affluent of the River Ruo, along that affluent, and subsequently the centre of the channel of the Ruo to its confluence with the River Shiré. From the confluence of the Ruo and Shiré the boundary follows the centre of the channel of the latter river to a point just below Chiwanga, and thence due west to the watershed between the Zambesi and the Shiré, and follows the watershed between those rivers, and afterwards between the former river and Lake Nyassa, until it reaches south latitude  $14^{\circ}$ . From thence it runs south-west to the point

where south latitude  $15^{\circ}$  meets the River Aroangwa, and follows the mid-channel of that river to its junction with the Zambesi. On the west the line follows the centre of the channel of the Upper Zambesi, starting from the Katima rapids up to the point where it reaches the territory of the Barutse Kingdom. That territory to remain within the British sphere, and its limits to the westward, which will constitute the boundary between the British and Portuguese spheres of influence, are to be decided by a joint Anglo-Portuguese Commission. The area of this territory is 251,000 square miles. In 1891 her Majesty's Government extended the field of operation of the British South African Company's charter so as to include the whole of the British sphere north of the Zambesi, except Nyassaland, under which name are included certain districts in the Lake Nyassa region where British missionaries had been settled for over fifteen years; and the African Lakes Company had been at work for the same period. These in 1889 had been declared to be within the British sphere of influence. The population of British Central Africa is estimated at 650,000.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE (BRITISH).

On May 14, 1891, the Nyassaland districts were proclaimed as being under the Protectorate of Great Britain. Their boundaries are thus defined: On the east and south by the Portuguese dominion, and to the west by a frontier starting in the south from the point where the boundary of the Portuguese dominion is intersected by the boundary of the "Conventional Free Trade Zone" defined in the first article of the Berlin Conference Act, and thence along the latter line to the point where it touches the boundary between the British and German spheres. The Shiré Province, which is that portion of the Protectorate lying between the south-west, south, and south-east shore of Lake Nyassa and the Zambesi, is now governed very much on the lines of a Crown Colony. Good roads are being made



in all directions, life and property are safe, and the bulk of the European population is congregated here. The province is remarkable for the extraordinary development of coffee-planting which has taken place within the last few years, the coffee grown in the Shiré highlands being of remarkable excellence. The chief trade on Lake Nyassa is in ivory. Elephants are still very abundant over all British Central Africa, and these furnish probably a fourth of the ivory that is exported from Africa. A good deal of it, however, passes into the Portuguese possessions on the Zambesi, the Congo Free State, or German East Africa. Other articles of export are india-rubber, oil-seed, rhinoceros' horns, hippopotamus' teeth, strophanthus-seeds, beeswax, and rice. This last article grows to great perfection on the shores of the Lakes. The Administration has recently introduced the cultivation of wheat, which promises to be very successful. It has also introduced oats and barley, which thrive remarkably well on the uplands. Experiments have been made with merino sheep, and Natal ponies, both of which kinds of stock seem likely to prosper on the elevated plateaux. But coffee-planting holds the first place among the industries of this province. Articles of import are cotton goods, machinery, provisions, hardware, and agricultural implements. The population of the British Central African Protectorate is estimated at 845,558. Area 38,000 square miles. Imports £80,054, and Exports £23,299.

#### BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

This includes the Uganda Protectorate, the East African Protectorate, Zanzibar, and Pemba.

On the 3rd of September, 1888, a charter was issued incorporating the Imperial British East Africa Company for the entire management of those parts of the islands and mainland of the Zanzibar dominion on the East Coast of Africa appertaining to the territory lying between Wanga and Kipini, both inclusive, which

are recognised, in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1886, as reserved for the exclusive exercise of British influence ; together with any further rights of a similar nature in East Africa or elsewhere which the Company might hereafter acquire. The Company thus formed received the concession of a strip of coast 150 miles long, including the harbours of Mombassa and Kilifi, the former probably the finest harbour on the East Coast of Africa, and stretching inland to the ten-mile limit to which the Zanzibar dominion on the mainland was confined by the Anglo-German agreement referred to. The Company, however, had full powers for acquiring territory to the west of this limit as far as the zone of British influence extends, from the coast to the confines of the Congo Free State.

Including the sphere of influence, the area to which the operation of the Company potentially extended was estimated at 750,000 square miles. The whole of the remaining territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar was, by an arrangement concluded in 1890, placed under British Protection, and that part of it north of the Kissini was conceded to the Company on August 31, 1889, and on March, 1890. On the 1st of July, 1895, the Company's territory was transferred to her Majesty's Government, and it is now administered by the Foreign Office, through the Consul-General at Zanzibar. The population of British East Africa is estimated at 2,500,000. Imports £329,559, and Exports £110,746.

#### ZANZIBAR, WITH TUBATU, AND PEMBA.

The Kingdom of Zanzibar was formerly a dependency of Muscat, and became independent in 1861. It is the largest coralline island on the African coast ; being forty-seven miles long and twenty broad, with an area of 985 square miles. The island is fertile, producing cloves, chultears, copra, and other tropical products, but its exports from the mainland include wax, hides, rubber,

ebony, ochilla-weed, copal, and tortoise-shell. Its imports are calico and Manchester goods, hardware, cereals, and iron and brass for the interior trade. The population is 200,000. Imports £1,275,470. Exports £1,119,846. Six miles north of Zanzibar lies the small and densely-wooded, but waterless island of Tubatu; and some thirty miles further north lies the island of Pemba, with an area of 380 square miles. This island is very fertile, producing cloves to the value of £120,000.

#### BRUNEI.

An agreement on terms similar to that with Sarawak was concluded in 1888 with the Sultan of Brunei, a native State lying between North Borneo and Sarawak, and touching the sea at Brunei Bay, in which lies the island of Labuan. Brunei is the State out of which the territories of the North Borneo Company and the Rajah of Sarawak were carved, and it appears to have been at one time powerful, exercising jurisdiction over the greater part of Borneo and the Philippines. Its area is now about 3,000 square miles. An Order in Council was passed, in 1890, establishing Councillor Courts in Borneo, with an appeal to the Supreme Court of the Strait Settlements. There are no European inhabitants. In Brunei the population is said to be 15,000, principally Malay.

#### SARAWAK.

Sarawak has an area of 50,000 square miles, with a coastline of 400 miles. The government of part of the present territory was obtained in 1842 from the Sultan of Brunei. Various accessions have been made between 1861 and 1885. Coal exists in large quantities, also diamonds, silver, antimony, and quicksilver. The population of Sarawak is 300,000. Imports £740,278. Exports £711,573.

#### CYPRUS.

The Island of Cyprus is situated in the most easterly

basin of the Mediterranean, with Asia Minor to the north, and Syria to the east. Its area is 3,584 square miles, so that it equals Kent, Middlesex, and Sussex combined. The island remained under the government of the Sultan of Turkey from 1571 to 1878, with the exception of of the period from 1832 to 1840, when it was held by the Pasha of Egypt, who was then at war with the Sultan. It may be mentioned that the island was frequently invaded by the Arabs, Saracens, and Egyptians before the final conquest of the Turks, and that from 1425 to 1571 it paid tribute to Egypt. Cyprus is now administered by Great Britain, under a convention concluded between the Representatives of her Majesty and the Sultan of Turkey, at Constantinople, in June, 1878.

Cyprus was in ancient times famous for its mines, but with the exception of a concession granted in 1886, and since abandoned, they have not been worked in recent times. Gypsum is exported in its raw state, mostly to Syria. The main industry is agriculture. The population of Cyprus is 209,286. Imports £240,051. Exports £297,141.

#### THE NIGER TERRITORIES.

This region is believed to cover 500,000 square miles, and it was secured to Great Britain by nearly 400 treaties made by the Royal Niger Company, and recognised by the Anglo-German agreements of June, 1885, November, 1886, and August, 1890. The agreement with Germany establishes, as an eastern frontier, a line running from the Cross River to a little east of Yola, on the Upper Bemu, and thence to a point on the south bank of Lake Chad, 35' east of the Meridian of Kuka. The northern frontier of the Territories is settled by an agreement with France, and is to be a line drawn from Say, on the Middle Niger, to Barua, on Lake Chad, but diverted so as to leave within the Niger Territories everything that properly belongs to the Kingdom of Sokoto. The Fulah Empire of Sokoto is the most populous and extensive in the whole of the

Soudan. The King of Gando, in the Middle Niger Valley, as well as all the other Fulah chiefs, recognise the suzerainty of the Sultan, who has conferred on the Royal Niger Company sovereign power throughout a large part of his dominions ; and jurisdiction, civil, criminal, and fiscal, over non-natives throughout the remainder. Sokoto and Gando together have an area of 219,500 square miles, with a population of 30,000,000. Trade is as yet in its infancy, as the Company has been almost entirely absorbed in the preliminary work of establishing order, and putting down slave-raiding. The principal exports are gums, india-rubber, ivory, kernels, palm oil, and vegetable butter ; but a great variety of minor products are also exported. Considerable plantations of coffee and cocoa have been started, and a botanical garden has been created. The chief imports are cotton, silks, woollen goods, earthenware, and hardware, beads, tobacco, salt, &c.

#### THE NIGER COAST PROTECTORATE.

The British Protectorate of the Niger Coast was formally assumed in July, 1884. It extends along the coast of Africa from Benin River (where it joins the boundary) to the mouth of the Rio del Rey. The part between the Forcardos River and the Nūn mouth of the Niger is claimed by the Royal Niger Company, the remainder forms the "Oil River"—"Niger Coast Protectorate." The numerous rivers, creeks, and estuaries in this part of the West African coast have received the name of "Oil Rivers," from the fact of their districts producing the bulk of the palm oil, which constitutes the chief export of West Africa. They are alleged to be branches of the Niger, and form the delta of that river ; but most of them are known to have independent sources. The estuaries of these rivers are connected by a network of more or less navigable creeks, so that, with a small expenditure of labour, inland navigation might be made practicable from Dahomey to the Cameroons.

Besides palm oil, cotton grows above the delta, and the tree producing the silk cotton is found all over that region, as well as the tree of the kola nut. Ground nut is widely cultivated in the interior, but not on the coast. Gum copal is largely produced, and so is shea butter, an almost solid vegetable fat, obtained from the kernel of the seed of the *Butyrospermum Parkii*. The castor-oil plant is found all over the delta, and the cocoa palm and coffee have been successfully introduced. Rubber trees abound everywhere; and ebony flourishes very extensively in the Cross River. The population of the Niger Coast Protectorate is probably over 2,000,000. Imports £655,977. Exports £785,605.

#### BORNEO.

The first settlement of Borneo was made at Landak and Suda Kana by the Dutch, but it was soon abandoned. The English Settlement was made in 1609, and this also was abandoned. The Dutch factories were re-established in 1747 and 1776, but they were finally given up in 1790. Sir James Brooke, in 1840, established the independent state of Sarawak, which as well as Brunei is under the exclusive influence of Great Britain. Labuan became a British Colony in 1846. In 1877 and 1878 the Sultans of Brunei and Salu ceded a district (which had originally been ceded by the Sultan of Brunei to some Americans, but which had never been taken up) to Mr., now Sir Alfred, Dent, who transferred it to the British Borneo Company. Some further cessions have since been added to the Company's territory. The British Government assumed a form of Protectorate over the territory by agreement with the "State of North Borneo" in 1888. By this agreement the State is to continue to be administered by the Company as an independent State.

A certain number of the more advanced tribes use the plough and harrow. The chief products are tobacco, sago, rice, coffee, pepper, tapioca, maize, sugar, and pineapple-fibre; but during the past year much attention has been

given to tobacco, for which the climate is eminently suited. A timber trade has been opened with Australia and China. The population of Borneo is about 2,000,000. Imports £376,437. Exports £494,750.

#### RHODESIA.

Under Rhodesia is included the whole of the region lying to the north and west of the South African Republic and to the southern boundaries of the Congo Free State, having as its eastern and western boundaries the Portuguese and German spheres. The Zambesi divides the territory into two portions, which are now officially designated as Northern and Southern Rhodesia. In area Rhodesia is given as 750,000 square miles. In 1889 the southern region was declared to be within the British sphere of influence, and in October, 1889, a Royal Charter was granted to the British South African Company, conferring upon it powers of administration. The territory is divided into two provinces, known as Matabeleland—the eastern, and Mashonaland—the western. Rhodesia came under direct British jurisdiction in 1893, through and after the Matabele war. The high plateaux of Mashonaland and Matabeleland provinces are well adapted for European settlement. Gold and other minerals have been discovered. Large forests of *Tkusi*, or native teak, and other timber abound; and the country, though desert in some parts, is in the main well adapted for agriculture. Since the grant of the Royal Charter, the Company has extended the Cape Government Railway from Kimberley to Vryburg, a distance of 126 miles. The Company has also formed the Bechuanaland Railway Company, Ltd., which has continued the railway from Vryburg to Bulawayo, a distance of 579 miles. This section was opened for traffic in November, 1897. A survey is to be undertaken for the purpose of constructing a line from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls, thus opening the mineral resources of the north-west districts; it will also tap one of the largest

sources of labour supply in Africa, and for mining purposes one of the best.

In addition to gold, other minerals such as silver, copper, blende, tin, antimony, arsenic, and lead are worked, while deposits of nitrate of potassium and plumbago, and extensive coal-fields have been discovered. The population of this vast territory is given as 450,000.

#### INDIA.

This brings us to our greatest dependency—our Indian Empire. Neither by the number of her square miles, nor in the wealth of her minerals, has India gained her great eminence; for in these respects she trudges in the rear of both Canada and Australia. But whilst those colonies, with their relatively sparse populations, boast of great reaches of territories with exhaustless stores of wealth, India in her smaller domain rejoices over vaster millions of people. In these is her full recompense, and in them lies her superior treasure. Trade relations between Europe and India were firmly established when Vasco da Gama—the celebrated Portuguese navigator—succeeded in demonstrating, in 1498, a sea passage to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Taking advantage of this brilliant discovery, a squadron of thirteen ships, under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, was immediately dispatched by King Manuel to found Portuguese settlements in India. Thus it was that the Portuguese were supreme in these seas. From 1500 to 1600 they dispensed the treasures of the islands of the East, from Goa to Celebes, and as far northward as Japan. But in the following century they found a rival in the Dutch, whose first vessels rounded the Cape in 1596, and whose East India Company was founded in 1602. Following the Dutch came the French, and then the English, to whose East India Company Queen Elizabeth granted a charter in 1600. War between France and England, in 1740, having passed to the colonies and dependencies of the belligerents, India bore her full share



of the conflict. Dupleux, the French Governor of Pondicherry, had formulated the nebulous scheme of making the whole Indian peninsula an appendage of France—he was holding Madras, which had been lately taken by French arms—and of overrunning the Carnatic. But he had to meet with a series of blows delivered by Robert Clive, which brought about the fall of the Indian Empire from the control of France.

Clive, who had entered the East India Company's service as a clerk, joined the army in 1746, and soon distinguished himself by the capture of Arcot, formerly the capital of the Carnatic. By the seizure of Fort St. David, near Madras, he speedily obtained complete command of the Carnatic. But the conquest of Bengal was the most remarkable achievement. Surajah Dowlah, the boyish Nabob of Bengal, attacked the English settlement by the Ganges in 1756. Fort William, abandoned by the governor, and the commander of the troops in garrison, soon became his prey (June 19, 1756). The outrage that has made the Black Hole of Calcutta tragic in the annals of the East then occurred. One hundred and forty-six English prisoners were packed into a chamber twenty feet square with only two little gratings to admit the air. Next morning twenty-three ghastly figures staggered, or were lifted out, barely living, from the fetid den. All the rest were dead. Landing at Fulta in December, Clive captured the fortress of Budge-budge, ten miles below Calcutta, and then forced his way through an intervening army to the town. The Fort Hooghly also fell. Early in 1757, Surajah Dowlah made a determined attack on Calcutta with 40,000 men. Clive had only 2,400, most of whom were Sepoys. Yet he kept the Nabob at bay, and forced him to come to terms. Clive then turned upon the French settlement of Chandernagore. On the 13th of June, 1757, when the little army, amounting in all to only 3,200 men, approached the village of Plassey, Clive saw huge masses of horse and foot, to the number of 60,000 men, encamped among the trees. Undismayed by the firing of 50 cannons, which

were drawn by white oxen, and pushed from behind by butting elephants, the British, protected by a wood, and a steep bank, replied briskly with their field-pieces. The action, beginning at six in the morning, was confined to a double cannonade all day. Clive, whose sleep the night before had been disturbed by the drums and cymbals in the native camp, snatched an hour's rest even with the roar of cannons around him. Many officers of the Surajah's force fell under the fire. Clive gladly saw his opportunity, hurled his whole force upon the camp, and swept the vast mob into rout before him. The Nabob headed the flight on a swift camel, and when Clive came to count his loss he found that only twenty white men, and about fifty Sepoys, had perished in the fight which had secured for Great Britain the Indian Empire.

This Empire which, on June the 23rd, 1757, we saw in embryo, we will now view in maturity. India is an Empire consisting of British territories and native states, or allies, feudatories, and vassals of the said Empire, from the Tibetan and Tartar watershed of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It includes, too, every area within their geographical limits, except the comparatively small settlements belonging to France and Portugal. The Empire is under one supreme authority in India, viz., the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council. "It may thus be divided into two categories—the British territories, comprising about three-fifths of the total area, and four-fifths of the total population; and the native States. The relations between these States and the British Government are regulated by treaties in full detail. The treaties have been published in many volumes, and form a record of the utmost value to the student of Modern India. Some States do not ordinarily appear in the official tables, though they form an integral part of the Empire, and are in communication with British political agents. In their internal affairs they are uncontrolled. These are the important Himalayan States of Nepaul, and the lesser States of Sikkim and Bhutan." The native States which appear in the official

tables occupy more than one-third of the area of the Empire, and contain more than one-sixth of its entire population. According to the census of 1891, they are thus grouped—

NATIVE STATES.					ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
Hyderabad	...	...	...	...	82,698	11,537,040
Baroda	...	...	...	...	8,226	2,415,396
Mysore	...	...	...	...	27,936	4,943,604
Cashmere	...	...	...	...	80,900	2,543,952
Rajputana	...	...	...	...	130,268	12,016,102
Central India	...	...	...	...	77,808	10,318,812
Bengal	...	...	...	...	35,834	3,296,379
N. W. Provinces	...	...	...	...	5,109	792,491
Punjab	...	...	...	...	38,299	4,263,280
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	29,435	2,160,511
Madras	...	...	...	...	9,609	3,700,622
Bombay	...	...	...	...	69,045	8,059,298
Total					595,167	66,047,487

“The relations of the native princes to British authority differ very widely. Some are practically independent Sovereigns, except that the Suzerain power does not permit any of them to make war on one another, or to form alliances with foreign States : while some are under tolerably strict control. As a rule they govern their States under the advice of an English resident, who is appointed by the Governor-General. Thus at every considerable native court there is stationed a British Agent, political or diplomatic. There are in all about 300 States, allied or feudatory, great and small. They are divided into—allied, 20 million inhabitants ; tributary, fifty, with 12 millions ; and ninety States with 18 millions.”

### *The British Territories.*

“These, containing with Ajmere, Coorg, British Beluchistan, and the Andamans, 964,992 square miles, are broken up into eight main divisions for civil government. They

were originally in three divisions, called presidencies, which have become historic, viz., Bengal, Madras, and Bombay." The old presidencies of Madras and Bombay still survive as units of government under Governors in Council, as of yore ; but every area that does not specifically belong to them is considered to belong to the Bengal Presidency. The last-named presidency, being much the largest of the three, has been subdivided into several divisions. Of these subdivisions the three principal are Bengal, with Behar and Orissa ; the North-Western Provinces, with Oudh ; the Punjab, with Delhi. Each is under a Lieutenant-Governor. The three remaining subdivisions are the Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma, each under a Chief Commissioner. Of these the Governor-General in Council is technically the Governor, but he delegates the greater part of his power to the Chief Commissioner in each case. Besides these three there are three smaller detached territories, viz., Ajmere (in Rajputana), Coorg, and the Andaman Islands. All these are exclusive of the Berar Province, which, though under British Rule, is part of the Nizam's dominions. The figures, large as they are, fail to give a definite impression of the enormous area and population under British authority in this part of the globe. The districts under direct British administration have an area almost as large as that of the United Kingdom, Austro-Hungary, Germany, France, and Italy put together, or more than seven times that of the United Kingdom. The area of the native States is as large as Norway, Sweden, Spain, Holland, and Belgium united together. In population, British and feudatory India together have more than all European States, omitting Russia only. The British Territories—without the native States—contain more than one-seventh of the inhabitants of the entire globe.

"In 1895-96 the area actually cropped was 188,921,010 acres. Besides cotton, other fibres occupied 2,719,805 acres; of this 2,248,593 grew jute. Coffee possessed 134,279 acres, and coorg 73,828. Food crops, other than cereals

and pulse, covered 5,981,927 acres. In 1895-96, 901,684 acres were cropped more than once, giving a total area under crops of 213,331,744 acres. There were also in India in 1895-96, 147 cotton mills at work, containing 37,278 looms, and 3,844,307 spindles, employing a daily average labour of 146,244 persons. There were 28 jute mills, 8 paper mills, and the quantity of beer brewed in 1896 amounted to 6,313,946 gallons."

In ancient times there were gold mines in the mountains of the south-western regions, which supplied the metal for the gold coinage which was then almost universal in the country. The most accessible parts of the auriferous strata have been worked out ages ago, and the remnant forms what is known as the Mysore mines. There are other auriferous deposits in parts of the Deccan. Silver has never been discovered in any appreciable quantity within the country, but in the Middle Ages it was introduced largely from across the Himalayas, and used for coinage. In the Shan dependencies of Burma, however, it is extracted from lead ore. Coal is obtained largely in western Bengal; in the Satpura Hills, to a considerable extent; in the Deccan to some extent; and in some other places; enough on the whole to supply the railways. Iron and copper are found and worked in many parts of the country. There are many minerals of lesser importance. Diamonds are still found in the Central Hills, and ruby mines are worked near Trawadi. The mineral resources on the whole are inferior in importance to the agricultural. The population of British India is 221,172,592. Imports, £84,990,050. Exports, £108,840,188.

#### OTHER LESSER DEPENDENCIES.

Besides the territories whose history, area, and productive value have been briefly sketched, there is Aden, on the coast of Arabia, with its seventy square miles, and its 41,910 inhabitants. There is Perim, an island at the entrance of the Red Sea, with seven square miles, and a

population of one hundred and fifty. Mention might also have been made of Kuria-Muria, the Somali Coast Protectorate, and Socotra, with an aggregate of 80,480 square miles, and a population numbering 11,184. There are other numerous islets and rocks scattered over the globe; and we have not included Egypt, with its 400,000 square miles, and its population of 9,734,405 persons; nor the Soudan, with areal dimensions reaching 1,000,000 square miles, and a population of twelve millions.

#### SUMMARY.

The information which has been given in this and the preceding chapters, may be classified in four distinct columns.

1. The area of the British Empire reaches approximately 11,111,467 square miles. This interminable stretch of territory will be observed to enter all oceans but one. It is found in the Arctic Ocean, in the Atlantic Ocean, in the Pacific Ocean, and in the Indian Ocean. It will be found to have pierced every zone, to have invaded the ice-clad zone of the frigid, to be within the swelter of the torrid, and beneath the clemency of the temperate. It occupies every continent — Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. The British Empire is larger than the Russian Empire, with its great Asiatic appendage, by 2,441,467 square miles. It is nearly four times the size of Oceania, the smallest of the Continents, and which is next in size to Europe. It is twice the size of Europe, which is next in size to Africa. And Africa, to which Europe is next in size, is larger than the British Empire only by 388,524 square miles. The American Continent, which is followed by Africa, is only 3,738,533 square miles beyond the British Empire. And Asia, the largest of the Continents, surpasses the British Empire in size only by 5,588,537 square miles. The British Empire approximates to itself more than one fourth of the entire globe.

2. The population inhabiting the British Empire reaches

to 385,866,837 souls. And as the population of the world is computed at 1,500,000,000, it will be obvious that our claim upon this great mass amounts to rather less than one third.

3 and 4. Coming to the two last columns, which present the totality of the Importing and Exporting power of the British Empire, we have under Imports £741,509,719, and under Exports £634,459,313. Then, in addition to extensiveness of area, variety of climate, and diversity of population, we have also to remember the capability of the British Empire as it is set forth under the head of its *products*. Under that head there is wheat, barley, oats, maize, fish ; dried, pickled, canned, and frozen meat ; rice, coffee, cocoa, tea, sugar, fruit—tropical and from temperate climes. We have wool, cotton, jute, skins, hides, tallow, bones, beeswax, ivory, palm oil, rubber, tobacco, palm kernel, kola nuts, dye stuffs, gums, betel, medicinal plants, timber of every description, tropical as well as that grown in colder latitudes. Spices, fur, pitch, mohair, ostrich feathers, sperm oil, tanning bark, iron, copper, silver, gold, coal, diamond, ruby, quicksilver, gypsum, antimony, tin, shale, marble, bismuth, plumbago, amber, pearl, granite, &c. And the miscellaneous products of the British Empire, which in their variety encompass the whole range of human needs, are not only great in variety, but great also in quantity. The possibility to which all these facts relating to the British Empire point, is a development of supply and demand, within her own circumference, such as would make the Empire practically independent of outside markets. But we will return again to this subject.

This colossal Empire, measured by more than eleven million square miles, and represented by nearly four hundred millions of people, is at once a magnificent and an eloquent expression. It tells of statesmen who were honourable, sagacious, and patriotic ; of soldiers and sailors who were loyal and brave in the face of danger, and skilful in the duties of their calling. It speaks further of enterprising merchants, and of an industrious and united people.

The modes by which all these colonies and dependencies became parts of the Empire were four. One was *purchase*, which is illustrated in the case of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast, West Africa. Another mode is *cession*, as in the case of Fiji and Sierra Leone, which the native rulers ceded to Great Britain. A third is *discovery*, as in the case of the Australian Colonies, which were discovered by Captain Cook. And the fourth is *conquest*. This may be illustrated in the case of the Cape of Good Hope, which was taken from the Dutch, and of Canada, which was conquered from the French. Concerning the last of these modes, there are two facts to be observed. One is, that it is the most costly, and the other is, that it has been the mode chiefly employed for building up the Empire.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE WARS THAT BUILT THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE nations whose wreckages, and the jetsam and flotsam of whose cargoes have been utilised for building up the British Empire, are principally Spain, Holland, and France. We may pass in review the relations of England with each of these countries.

#### SPAIN.

Besides securing the western coast of Africa to Portugal, the Treaty of Lisbon, in 1479, enabled Spain to complete the annexation of the Canaries. But a new problem was created by the discovery of the West Indies, in 1492, by Christopher Columbus. His voyage had been undertaken under the patronage of Isabella, and the new territories were regarded as pertaining to Castile. To solve any difficulties that might arise, a bull was obtained from Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, which granted to Spain all discoveries west of an imaginary line drawn 100 leagues to the west of the Azores, and Cape Verd Islands. As this arrangement excited Portuguese discontent, it was modified by treaty at Tordisillas, in 1494, which removed the boundary line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands. This modification had important results for the Portuguese, as giving them their subsequent claim to Brazil.

In the meanwhile Spain redoubled its exertions. In 1498 Columbus landed on the Continent of America, and in a few years the whole western coast was explored by subsequent adventurers. In 1512 Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, and in the next year Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Darien, and gazed for the first time upon the Pacific. No exertions were spared by the Government of Spain to encourage settlement in its new territories; but the regulations of Colonial trade, and especially the provision that it should pass through the single port of Seville, were conceived in a narrow and selfish spirit, which prevented the full development of their resources.

These enormous acquisitions were still further increased by the successes of Cortes in Mexico, and of Pizarro in Peru, and also by conquests in North Africa. But the first manifestation of the leprosy with which the Colonial life of Spain was stricken, and in the development of which limb after limb fell away, until the once massive and portly form of the Spanish Empire has become a shapeless and devitalised trunk, may be observed in the condition of her Netherland Provinces.

After the revolt of the seven northern provinces in the Netherlands, a truce was proclaimed during the war that ensued; "but because the commercial progress of the Dutch was fatal to the trade of that part of the Netherlands that was still Spanish, and that, in consequence, Amsterdam had already begun to take the place of Antwerp, this truce, which in Spain had been anything but popular, was abrogated, and the struggle between Spain and the Dutch Netherlands was renewed." To make the war successful it was imperative for Spain that an alliance with England should be secured; but such an alliance had already been sacrificed by the Emperor's insistence upon confiscating the Palatinate, which was conferred upon Maximilian of Bavaria. The match with the Spanish Infanta was broken off, and Prince Charles of England married Henrietta Maria of France. The alienation of England

was enough in itself to have ensured the ultimate failure of the Dutch War to the prejudice of Spain.

On the mainland the successive Stadtholders, Maurice and Frederick Henry, held their own even against the experienced Spinola; and after the latter's recall in 1628, they had a distinct advantage. But it was by sea that the Dutch gained their most conspicuous successes. In 1629 the Spanish treasure-fleet was captured by Admiral Hein, whose booty was estimated at seven millions of guilders. The greater part of Brazil, together with Malacca, Ceylon, Java, and other islands, were captured by the Dutch sailors. These conquests are referred to because most of them eventually gravitated into the hands of England. "Instead of conquering the Northern Provinces, Spain had to make great exertions in order to defend the frontiers of the Southern Netherlands."

#### *War of the Spanish Succession.*

Another great drama, in which the future of the Spanish Empire was deeply involved, was performed on the stage of what is known as the "War of the Spanish Succession." Notwithstanding the state of collapse into which Spain was rapidly falling, the glamour of her throne was still sufficient to excite longings in the breasts of members of Royal Houses in Europe. Again, the balance of power was the centre of gravity around which the equilibrium of the thrones of Europe poised. As now, any policy that threatened to disturb that point of repose received at once the attention of crowned heads and their ministers. For the first of these two reasons, therefore, it was not surprising that Louis XIV. of France, in the year 1700, succeeded in placing his grandson Philip on the Spanish Throne. And for the second reason, it was not a matter for surprise that this act of temerity should have received the hostile attention of the other European States. The prime mover in the assault that followed was William III. of England. In addition to the political interest which the question had

for England, there were commercial relations between her and Spain which, if the accession of a French prince to the Spanish Throne were effected, would be prejudiced in favour of France.

William was enabled to conclude the Grand Alliance on September 7, 1701, by which the contracting Powers undertook to secure the Netherlands, and the Italian provinces of Spain, for the Archduke Charles, and to preserve the mercantile monopoly of the English and Dutch. A few days afterwards James II. died at St. Germain, and Louis XIV. was injudicious enough to acknowledge his son (the Pretender) as King of England. Stung by this insult, the English people, who had followed the bellicose preparations of William with some reluctance, now gave their warm adhesion to his cause. William himself died in March, 1702, but he left the continuance of his policy to the care of the able Generals, Marlborough and Heinsius.

It is needless to follow the military operations of the war of the Spanish Succession, which has been rendered famous by the exploits of Eugene and Marlborough. The chief scenes of hostilities were in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. In each country the French suffered fatal and humiliating reverses. In 1703 Pedro II., of Portugal, deserted the cause of France, and concluded the Methuen Treaty with England. This opened the Peninsula to the allied forces, and necessitated a revision of the terms of the alliance. In 1704 the Archduke appeared in Portugal, and the English fleet, under Sir George Rooke, captured Gibraltar. Peterborough captured Barcelona, and by the end of the year the Archduke was acknowledged as Charles III. in Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon; and Madrid was occupied twice. But the tide of conquest quickly receded, so that in the end the Archduke lost all the other provinces except Catalonia.

At this juncture two events occurred which completely altered the balance between the contending Powers. The fall of the Whig Ministry, through a Court intrigue, gave

the control of English policy to the Tories, who had always been unfriendly to the war, and the death of Joseph I. in April, 1711, left the Austrian territories to his brother, the Archduke Charles, who was soon afterwards elected emperor, as Charles VI. In these altered circumstances, to have allowed the Spanish Succession still to pass to this prince, would have been to increase the danger to the balance of power, and so Bolingbroke, the English minister, hurried on the negotiation with France, which ended in the Treaty of Utrecht, between England, France, Spain, and Holland.

### *Treaty of Utrecht.*

By the terms of the treaty between England and France (1) "The Protestant succession through the House of Hanover was secured ; the Pretender was to be compelled to quit France ; a permanent severance of the crowns of France and Spain was solemnly promised ; and Newfoundland, Arcadia, and Hudson Bay territory were ceded to England. (2) The Dutch secured a strong fortress barrier. The Spanish Netherlands were handed over to them, and Lille was given back to France. (3) The Duke of Savoy secured Sicily and the title of King. (4) The treaty between Spain and England granted to England the possession of Gibraltar, and the Assiento treaty granted Minorca ; and by a contract signed at Madrid, the grant of the slave-trade was withdrawn from France and given to England." It will be seen that it was by this treaty that the command of the Mediterranean was gained for England.

### *The Austrian Succession.*

Passing over the abortive war between England and Spain in 1739, we come to the Austrian Succession.

Charles VI. of Austria had persuaded almost every European Power to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. But the succession of Maria Theresa, his daughter and heiress, to his throne and dominion was not in the least

facilitated by the paper promises of support which he had obtained from certain of the European sovereigns. England was almost the only Power that adhered to the engagement. Frederick of Prussia advanced an obsolete claim to Silesia, and France seized the opportunity to humiliate the House of Hapsburgh. Spain hastened to join the coalition against the unfortunate heiress, and Philip V. of Spain claimed to represent the Spanish branch of the Hapsburghs, and pleaded the old family agreement by which his house was to succeed on the extinction of the Austrian line.

There was no possibility of so absurd a claim being recognised, but it opened the prospect of recovering the lost provinces in Italy. Sardinia was gained over by the promise of part of Lombardy. Naples and Sicily were already in the hands of Don Carlos. It seemed hardly possible that Maria Theresa, thus pressed by her enemies on every side, could successfully defend her Italian territories. A Spanish army, under Montemar, was embarked in French vessels, and afterwards the English fleet was landed in the Gulf of Genoa, in 1741.

It was not until 1742 that the campaign began, with an advance upon Modena, where the Duke had promised his support to Spain. But the Austrians and Sardinians were the first in the field. They expelled the Duke of Modena from his territories, and forced Montemar to retreat towards Naples. At the same time the English fleet appeared before Naples, and the threat of an immediate bombardment compelled Don Carlos to promise a strict neutrality during the rest of the war. Count Gages, who was sent to supersede the unsuccessful Montemar, was unable to recover the lost ground, and the first campaign ended without any serious advantage to either side, beyond the Austrian occupation of Modena. In 1743 Gages again attempted the invasion of Lombardy, but was defeated at Campo Santo and repulsed. Austria and Sardinia concluded a close alliance by the Treaty of Worms (September, 1743) which was negotiated by England. France and

Spain undertook to aid in conquering the Milanese for Don Philip; to declare war against England; and not to make peace until Gibraltar, and if possible Minorca, were restored to Spain. After an indecisive campaign, in 1744, the determination of Maria Theresa to recover Silesia furnished the chances to her enemies of making good their positions in Italy. Accordingly a junction of the combined forces of Spain and France was effected at Genoa; they took Tortona, and afterwards occupied Parma and Piacenza; they also invaded Lombardy. By this tactic the armies of the Austrians and Sardinians were separated. Following on this, town after town fell into the hands of the Allies, until, in December, Don Philip made a triumphant entry into Milan. By this time the Silesian War with Prussia was ended, and peace was concluded by the Treaty of Dresden.

The forces that now became available were poured into Italy, with the result that the aspect of the war was speedily changed, and successive waves of reverses soon stripped the Allies of their conquests, leaving them only Tortona. The fortune of the war was still further influenced by the news received at this juncture of the death of Philip V. of Spain. The king who succeeded to the throne had little interest in the cause for which the war was undertaken and prosecuted. "His first act was to supersede Gages by the Marquis of Las Minas, who, joining the Spanish army at Tortona, hastened to withdraw it from Italy into Savoy, which Don Philip had occupied from the year 1742. The Austrians at once besieged and captured Genoa, thus cutting off the possibility of a renewed invasion of Italy, except through the well-guarded passes of the Alps."

From this time the military operations ceased to have any direct importance for Spain, and all interest centred in the negotiations which were carried on at Breda, in 1747, and transferred to Aix-la-Chapelle in the next year. The terms imposed by this treaty were "The renewal of all former treaties and the mutual restoration of all conquests,

England giving hostages for the restoration of Cape Breton. The fortifications of Dunkirk on the sea side were to be demolished. The Duchies of Parma, Guastalla, and Piacenza were given to Sardinia. The Duke of Modena and the republic of Genoa were reinstated in their former territories. The Assiento Treaty with Spain was confirmed for four years. The Protestant succession in England was guaranteed according to the treaty of 1714. The Pretender was to be excluded from France. The Emperor was to be acknowledged by France, and the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed. The Duchy of Silesia and the county of Glätz were guaranteed to the King of Prussia, and the portions of the Milanese held by Sardinia were permanently surrendered by Austria." The recapture of Gibraltar was a project upon which the heart of Philip V. had been most firmly fixed, but at his death the realisation of that project was as distant as ever. His son, Ferdinand VI., who succeeded to the throne, was averse to upholding the policy which his father, in deference to his wife, had been prosecuting. Accordingly he abstained from assisting France against England. Indeed, he resolutely withstood the allurements that were proffered to draw him into aggressive entanglements. Thus at the beginning of the "Seven Years' War," in 1750, France sought his help with the offer of Minorca as a consideration, and England tempted him with the cession of Gibraltar; but he did not waver, and in consequence secured to his country the rare and inestimable boon of thirteen years' peace, which terminated only with his life. Dying in 1759, Ferdinand was succeeded by Charles III., who had been ruler of the two Sicilies from 1735. The accession of this prince was a signal that the policy of the previous reign would be reversed. Apart from his personal inclinations, the situation indicated a probable change of policy. Kinship between the ruling houses of France and Spain was established. The action of England in the late Succession War had embittered Charles against that country; and the clemency of Maria Theresa enabled



Charles to transfer the Crown of Naples to his third son instead of his brother Philip, as had been stipulated in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Charles, however, remained for two whole years undecided as to the course which he should pursue. But the rapid strides which the maritime and Colonial ascendancy of Great Britain, under Pitt, was making, eventually overcame his hesitancy, and led him definitely to cast in his lot with France. In 1761, for the third time, a family compact was concluded between Spain and France. In this instance Spain agreed to render France active assistance, unless peace were restored within a year. But Spain, when she stepped into the breach, was only involving herself in the disasters which were already crippling France.

An attempt to invade Portugal was foiled through England's aid to that country; and an English fleet captured Martinique and Havana. France found it prudent to sue for peace. Fortunately for her, Bute, who was anxious to tone down the influence of Pitt by ending the war, was then in power, the overtures of France were entertained, and peace concluded in February, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris.

### *The Treaties of Paris and Versailles.*

The lessons which the reverses of France were fitted to teach Charles III. were of no avail to a mind which was guarded by a shield of jealousy against England. To avenge his own recent humiliation, as well as the misfortunes that had prostrated France, became a passion with him; and as vengeance could only be meted out by the dual hands of Spain and France, Charles regarded a French and Spanish alliance with especial favour. At this period an incident occurred, at the Falkland Islands, which under other circumstances would have furnished the occasion to Charles for gratifying his jealous passion. It was a dispute that arose, in 1779, about those islands, from

which the English settlers were expelled by a Spanish force. Soon after this a marked coolness, lasting for some time, sprang up between Spain and France. Besides, Spain and Portugal had been embroiled in some boundary disputes about their South American Colonies, and these had been of long standing. The death of Joseph I., in 1777, and the dismissal of Pombal, whose influence as first minister was believed to be unfavourable to a pacific adjustment of the differences, paved the way for Florida Blanco to carry through the Treaty of San Ildefonso, by which Sacramento, and the navigation of Rio de la Plata, were ceded to Spain ; and a boundary was fixed between Brazil and Paraguay on the one side, and Peru on the other. This delimitation was followed, in March, 1778, by a perpetual alliance, determined by a community of interest, between Portugal and Spain. These treaties were naturally considered by Blanco as the masterpiece of his political life, and they certainly cleared the ground for Charles to advance his most deeply cherished scheme, which had been necessarily held in abeyance.

England at this time was engaged in a desperate struggle with her North American Colonies. France had entered into a close alliance with the Colonies, in 1778. Spain therefore followed the next year. "The Northern Powers, irritated by the high-handed way in which England had asserted and exercised her maritime supremacy, formed the 'armed neutrality,' under the lead of Catherine II. of Russia. Even Holland, the oldest and most constant ally of England, was involved in the general coalition. England, which had failed single-handed to coerce its own subjects, was now face to face with the whole maritime power of Europe, and was also hampered by domestic troubles. Spain succeeded in capturing Minorca, and laid siege to Gibraltar." England lost many of her West Indian Colonies, and the surrender at Yorktown by Cornwallis removed the last vestige of any hope of preserving the union of the American Colonies to the mother country. Indeed, the most confident hope was

cherished by her enemies of denuding England of her Colonial possessions.

The year 1782 marked the turning-point of the struggle, by the novel tactics of Rodney, who, in breaking through their line, destroyed the French fleet in the West Indies. General Elliott's brave defence, and the timely arrival of supplies under convoy of Lord Howe, also saved Gibraltar from "overwhelming odds."

The crisis of the war was now over, and the want of cohesion among the Allies, who were severally absorbed in their individual interests, hastened the conclusion of peace in 1783 by the Treaty of Versailles. "In that treaty the independence of the United States of America was recognised by England, with the recognition of the limits of the Republic, which also kept the right of fishing in the Newfoundland waters. England returned to France St. Pierre and Miquelon, in the West Indies, St. Lucia and Tobago ; in the East, Pondicherry, Chanderragore, together with the right of free commerce. France gave up the Island of New Granada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, &c. In Africa England renounced Senegal and its dependencies, and restored Goree. But she was guaranteed the possession of Fort St. James and the River Gambia, with a right to share in the gum trade from the mouth of the river St. Jean to Portendick. Permission was also given to fortify Dunkirk. As regards Spain, Minorca and the Floridas were given up by the English, who was, however, to be allowed to cut logwood within certain limits, and to have Providence and the Bahamas restored to her. Holland yielded Nigapatam, and promised not to harass English navigation in the Eastern seas."

#### HOLLAND.

Attention has been called to the revolt of the Seven Provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, and to their colonial conquests, as the commencement of that long series of devolutions that turned the great Spanish Empire into the

shadow of its former self. We have also seen that, by the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the war of the Spanish succession, the Spanish Netherlands in the south were added to the northern provinces. Now it must be remembered that Great Britain was the chief auxiliary to Holland in creating this New State. Indeed, but for the help of Elizabeth in men and money—at first covert, but afterwards overt—the struggles of these Provinces might have ended only in defeat. The friendship formed between England and Holland under circumstances so tragic, was broken only by the death of the great Queen. With the accession of James I. a new epoch dawned. That monarch's peace with Spain, which was followed by the restitution of the "cautionary towns," which had been handed over to England in the previous reign, the growing theological differences between the two countries, and the increasing rivalry between English and Dutch merchants, produced a deep-seated and enduring hostility.

When the twelve years' truce with Spain (1609-21) came to an end, James's sympathies were altogether Spanish. Holland found in France the protector she had lost in England. The Amboyna massacre was but the prelude of a long struggle between the two naval powers in the East Indies; and the eventful marriage of the Stadtholder, Frederick Henry, with Mary, daughter of Charles I. (1641), rather increased than diminished the hostility between England and Holland. Flushed with the recognition of their liberty by the Treaties of Westphalia (1648) the Dutch plunged into their famous naval war with England. The passing, by the Long Parliament, of the Navigation Act, dealt a deadly blow at the Dutch carrying trade. But the war which ensued and lasted from 1651-1654, was on the whole unfavourable to Holland. The restoration of the Stuarts, and the re-enactment of the Navigation Act, intensified the opposition of the Amsterdam Oligarchs against their commercial rival. "The victories of the war were pretty evenly divided; France had joined the Dutch, fearing that England would make herself supreme on the

seas; but she had not taken much share in the war, her policy being to use the two great naval powers as checks one upon the other."

*The Treaty of Breda.*

The Treaty of Breda, with which the war was concluded (July 31, 1667), had the following terms:—"1. The islands of St. Christopher and Antigua were restored to England, and Montserrat and the province of Acadia (Nova Scotia) to France. 2. England and Holland made peace on the principle of *uti possidetis*. Thus England retained New York and New Jersey; and Holland retained Surinam. 3. The Navigation Act was now modified in favour of the Dutch."

In 1667 the two Powers united to check Louis XIV. by the Triple Alliance. But, in 1670, Charles II. signed such a treaty with France to partition Holland, as Charles I. had nearly forty years before concluded with Spain. In 1672 Charles joined Louis in a great attack on Holland. But common political opposition to the tyrant of Europe now proved so strong a bond of union between England and Holland, that even commercial rivalry was powerless to sever them. The restoration of the House of Orange united the two courts, and the marriage of William III. with Mary of York (1677) completed the alliance. The Revolution, which brought William to England, gave the union vitality.

Henceforward the "Maritime Powers," as England and Holland were now called, had a common policy and common interests. Marlborough simply continued the work of William of Orange. But the narrow margin of Dutch prosperity now began to show itself. It was, perhaps, only because England had won in the commercial race that her alliance with Holland had become possible. Though the Treaty of Utrecht gave the Dutch all they could wish, they gradually sank into a condition of dependence on their great ally. It was England's influence, now extended to internal affairs, that made

William IV., the son-in-law of George II., Stadtholder in 1747. But George's grandson, William V., was a weak ruler, and despite his sympathy with George III., the rising Dutch democracy, which warmly supported the American Colonists, insisted on Holland adopting the "armed neutrality" (1780), and forced her into a naval war with England. But the glory of Holland had departed, and her States willingly accepted the inglorious peace of 1783. In 1787 the English and Prussians combined to restore the Stadtholder, an act which directly led to the conquest of Holland by the French Republic and with the approval of the Dutch democracy. Holland was forced to lend her naval strength to France, and remained in antagonism to England until 1815.

#### FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The relations of these two neighbouring States had an early beginning, a beginning that rose into prominence when the great vassal of the French King, Hugh Capet, sat on the English throne as William I. (1067). French ideas, manners, military system, architecture, &c., in England, were introduced by Edward, a predecessor of William, but French domination came in with the doughty "conqueror." William's conquest made the territorial knot which then bound the two countries together, with the conflicts that ensued, in which victories and defeats alternated.

After four centuries had passed, there emerged the new era, which was inaugurated by Henry VIII. With this monarch the foreign relations of England took new forms. Instead of the long-standing traditional policy of the Middle Ages, the policy of *interest* began by the establishment of what had become the political system of Europe, based on the doctrine of the "Balance of Power." Henry was eager to win new Crecys and Agincourts at the expense of the traditional enemy. But besides this, there was the notion of adjusting the balance of power.

Italy led Henry to join the war of the "Holy League" against France (1514). For a few years old and new motives united to keep Henry true to his traditional hostility, and the first war of Francis I. and Charles V. (1521-29) saw Henry again the active enemy of France. But the negotiations of 1520 clearly show that Henry's main motive had reference to the political exigencies of the moment, rather than to any theory of policy. The withdrawal of England from the war after the battle of Pavia (1525), the moment that Charles had an overwhelming advantage, illustrates Henry's regard for the "balance of power." The alliance with France in 1526, the long and wearisome negotiations to enlist France on the side of Henry's divorce, equally indicate the new state of things. Francis played Henry false, and deserted the English attack in 1543, which, successful during Henry's life, led to disastrous failure under the weak rule of Somerset. Northumberland was the friend of France; but the accession of Mary, with the consequent Spanish alliance, was the cause of fresh war between France and England. The accession of Francis II., the husband of Mary of Scotland, and the tool of the Guises, together with the ambitious compromise about the restoration of Calais, kept alive the enmity. "The Treaty of Cahan marked the commencement of a new epoch. Political considerations were subordinated to religious ones: and during Elizabeth's reign, despite her personal feelings, the Huguenots were regarded as the natural allies, and the Catholic League as the natural foe, of England. The accession of Henry IV. ended the active period of Catholic reaction, and led for the first time to a hearty national alliance of France and England against Spain."

For the next half-century religious hatred of Catholicism, and political fear of the overweening Spanish monarchy, continued to produce this approximation between the old rivals. James I.'s Spanish policy was unpopular and unsuccessful. In 1627 a French alliance was adopted, and Charles I.'s marriage with Louis XIII.'s

sister, though it did not prevent the war of 1627, kept the two nations on fairly good terms during the whole reign of that monarch. Richelieu's underhand support of the Scots rather strengthened than weakened this position. The vacillating foreign policy of the first Stuarts made it impossible for fixed relations, either friendly or hostile, to be established; and it was reserved for Cromwell to revive the foreign policy of Elizabeth, and, in league with Mazarin, to humble effectively the pride of Spain. But the Elizabethan policy had now become obsolete, so that Cromwell's friendship with France was largely responsible for the aggression of Louis XIV.

Under Clarendon, who closely followed Cromwell in foreign affairs, the same policy of French alliance became a source of that minister's failure.

### *The Triple Alliance.*

The Triple Alliance (1667), of the Cabal, was the beginning of the policy of combined resistance of Louis, and of this, ultimately, England became the centre. But Catholic and despotic leanings, love of bribes, and fear of decided action, kept England's general influence on the side of France, so long as Charles II. and James II. were on the throne. Only under Danby, when the Orange marriage and the decided action of 1677 were effected, did England in any vigorous way set itself against French aggression. The great development of French influence on literature, culture, manners, and fashions, helped to maintain this French friendship. But with the Revolution of 1688, the prince who was at the centre of the European opposition to the universal monarchy of Louis XIV. became King of England. The addition of the whole weight of England to the Coalition led to the ultimate defeat of France. The war of 1688-97 resulted in the Treaty of Ryswick, and prepared the way for the war of the Spanish Succession. The well-contested battles of William, and the crowning victories of Marlborough, broke up the power of France



even though the connection of the dethroned Stuarts with France, and the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in European politics, kept up a French party in England. It was by this party that the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was secured. The Tory alliance between England and France lasted, strange to say, for five and twenty years of Whig ministry. The Regent, Philip of Orleans, and the ministers of George I., were, for very different reasons, equally anxious for its maintenance. Philip drove away the Pretender from France, and in 1717 the Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and France was completed to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht against the efforts of the reviving monarchy of Spain. The peace policy of Walpole and Fleury kept alive this state of things. It was during this period of unity that the close literary and philosophic intercourse between France and England occurred, which was to make the doctrines of Locke and Newton the common property of Europe.

When prosperity re-visited France, her ministers were anxious to return to the policy of Louis XIV., but, besides the regard for the political balance of Europe, the rivalry of England and France in America and India, and the efforts of both nations at Colonial expansion, proved a deep-rooted source of hostility; and of this the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the "Seven Years' War" were ebullitions.

### *The Seven Years' War.*

The "Seven Years' War" was undertaken by a group of the European Powers to check the aggressive designs of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and to enable Maria Theresa to recover the province of Silesia from Frederick. On the one side were grouped Austria, supported by France, Russia, and Poland; and on the other Frederick and England. England was at this time at war with France in the Colonies, and was nervously afraid of isolation. She promised her support in money to

Frederick, and also her army that was in Hanover. Throughout the Continental war, however, the British troops played but a secondary part.

The first campaign was a great triumph for the arms of Frederick. Assuming the offensive, he overran Saxony, defeated the Austrians who were advancing to its relief at Lobositz, and compelled the Saxon army to surrender. In 1757 the attention of Frederick was at first confined to Bohemia, which he invaded. At Prague he invested the Imperialists until Marshal Daun defeated him decisively at Kolin in June, and compelled him to evacuate the country. Meanwhile, in Hanover, the English-Hanoverian army, under the Duke of Cumberland, was opposed to the French under Marshal d'Estrées. After allowing the French to cross the Weser, he was utterly defeated at Hastenbeck, and compelled to capitulate under convention of Kloster-Seven. This arrangement, however, was repudiated by the British Government, and the defeated army was placed under Ferdinand of Brunswick, who drove back the French on that side. Aided by this timely advantage, Frederick succeeded in making headway against the Coalition; the Imperialists being routed at Rossbach in November, and Silesia re-occupied after the victory of Leuthen. The sudden withdrawal of the Russians from the campaign, owing to the illness of the Czarina, set the Prussians, who had been employed against them, free to chastise the Swedes, who had joined the Allies in this year. At the same time Clive, in India, had won the great battle of Plassey over the French. The next campaign (1758) was one of considerable change of fortune. Ferdinand of Brunswick, after defeating the French at Crefeld in June, retired before Marshal Contades, only to advance again and drive the enemy behind the Rhine. On his side Frederick was driven out of Moravia, but won a brilliant battle over the Russians at Zoondorf; and though defeated by Daun, with loss, at Hofkirchen, he managed before the end of the year to free Saxony and Silesia from the enemy. Meanwhile the

English had taken Louisburgh and Fort Duquesne in America, and made successful descents upon Cherbourg and St. Malo. In 1759 the efforts of Frederick were on the whole unfortunate. The battle of Kunersdorf, at first a victory, was converted into a crushing defeat by Marshal Loudon. His general, Fink, surrendered in November, and at the end of the year Saxony and Lusatia were occupied by the Austrians. Ferdinand of Brunswick, though frustrated in an attempt to recover Frankfort, won a great battle at Minden, on August 1st, over Contades and Broglie ; and, aided by the victory of his relative, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, on the same day, he succeeded in clearing Westphalia of the enemy. At the same time the resources of the French were being exhausted by the successes of the English in the East and in the West. Quebec was captured in September ; naval victories were gained by Boscawen at Lagos, and by Hawke at Quiberon. Coote recaptured Wandewash, Pondicherry, and other territories in India. In 1760 the English subsidy alone enabled Frederick to resist his enemies. Berlin was occupied by Russians in October, and though, by the brilliant victory of Liegnitz in August, Silesia had been partially recovered, they came up again in November, and the fearful battle of Torgau only, as it were, by a miracle, saved Prussia from annihilation. This battle was followed by the retirement of all the Allies. The death of George II. put an end to the further supplies of subsidy, while the progress already made by the war had so weakened all the combatants, that no severe engagements followed.

On the Rhine, Ferdinand of Brunswick and the French alternately advanced and retreated, while the Russians and Austrians were unable to crush the remnant of Frederick's army. The desultory form into which the war had now degenerated was carried on in a country that was entirely wasted ; but these were conditions not unfavourable to the return of peace. Accordingly a double series of negotiations was started. One set between England and France,

and the other between Russia and Austria, on the one part, and Prussia, on the other. The former, despite the opposition of Pitt, and the outbreak of war with Spain, blossomed into the Treaty of Paris (1763).

*Treaty of Paris.*

The conditions of this Treaty, as they affected the signatory Powers, were, that both nations were to take no further part in the war in Germany. That France was to restore all territories in Hesse and Hanover. Minorca was to be given up by the French in exchange for Belleisle. "America passed wholly to England, but the French were to retain their rights to the fishing off Newfoundland. In the West Indies, England retained Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, but restored Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia. In Africa, France gave up Senegal, but recovered Goree. In India, agreeing to have no military establishment, the French were allowed to resume the factories which they had held before the war. Before the peace was finally concluded, news was received of the capture of Havana; and the English Cabinet insisted on some equivalent being given if England were to cede this, her most recent conquest. Florida was thereby given up by France." For the next few years there was peace, but little cordiality between France and England. At last peace was broken by the French, through their attitude towards the revolted North American Colonies. After the war to which this led, and of which we have already spoken, Pitt, for some years, succeeded in keeping the two nations on good terms, and his famous Commercial Treaty of 1786, by reviving trade between the two countries, was so productive of good, that the alienation which was already springing up, was succeeded in France by a bloom of Anglomania. At the outbreak of the Revolution, France and England were on more bitter terms than since the days of Walpole. That event, hailed by nearly all persons in France as the beginning of a

brighter state of things, brought the nations still more closely together in sympathy. But it was soon seen that the course of the Revolution would be very different from that which had been hoped for. Very early Burke sounded the alarm, and the growing ascendancy of the Jacobins soon confirmed his prophecy. Henceforth, except with a few staunch Whigs who still followed Fox as their leader, and with professed Radicals and agitators, sympathy in this country with the Revolution passed into ostracism.

In 1793 the great war of England against the Revolution began, and continued up to 1815.

#### *The Treaty of Amiens.*

There were two breaks in this long contest. One was imposed by the "Treaty of Amiens," and the other by the exile of Napoleon to Elba. The Treaty of Amiens stipulated that England should give up all her conquests, except Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch, but it was to remain a free port. Malta was to go back to the Knights of St. John, under the guarantee of one of the Great Powers. Port Ferrajo was to be evacuated. On the other hand, the Republic of the Ionian Island was acknowledged. The French were to withdraw from Naples and the Roman States. The integrity of Portugal was to be guaranteed. Egypt was to be restored to the Porte; and, finally, the Newfoundland fisheries were to be placed on the same footing as they held before the war began.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Such is the outline of the earlier wars, out of which came the foundation, and much of the superstructure, of the British Empire. The qualities and attributes of the builders of the British Empire, which we hinted at in the last chapter as the cause, of which the Empire itself is the expression, had all a common starting-point. That starting-point was the industries of the country. In

relation to the founding of the British Empire, statesmen might have been sagacious, patriotic, and honourable; the sailors and soldiers might have been loyal, brave, and expert in the science of warfare; and the people might have been united, they might have been peaceful, yet if there had been no *industries* there would have been no Empire. The British Empire was the work performed by the British nation, and the British *industries* were the food that sustained the nation in that work. The industries that sustained the people were as indispensable to the creation of the Empire, as were the people that actually created the Empire. The British industries stand, as it were, at the opposite end of the British Empire, and as the intermediary the nation stands between the two.

Further, as war is the most costly mode of Empire-building, and as the greatest part of the British Empire has been built by war, British industries, which had to support these wars, must have had a tremendous burden to bear. And they have not only survived under it, but they have come forth from the task with vigour and energy, proving their inherent power and strength.

And since industries lie at the foundation of the British Empire, we shall certainly not be going astray by turning our observations now to their history and development.

## CHAPTER V

### THE GROWTH OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES

DURING the reign of Elizabeth the previously submerged coral-reef of English industries rose to the surface and became of international importance. The chief, and indeed at that time the only, industry of any importance was agriculture. Land and its products therefore were the keystone of the arch of national revenue. They almost wholly occupied the nation's attention and care, and all the national resources were devoted to safeguarding the land and the farming interests. Parliament threw around agriculture the shield of legislation; literature advocated its claims; and commerce acknowledged its priority.

In relation to Agriculture, one of the matters engaging Parliamentary attention was discouraging the increase of pasture lands at the expense of arable. Under Henry VIII., Parliament kept a vigilant eye on, and exercised effective control over, this danger. This watchful attitude was maintained during Elizabeth's reign, up to 1592, but then, the danger being thought to have passed away, the law in relation to pasture land was discontinued, on what seemed to be good reason. We find Bacon saying: "Whereas England was wont to be fed by other countries from the East, it sufferest now to feed other countries. . . . Another evident proof thereof may be, that the good

yields of corn which have been, together with some toleration of vent, hath of late time invited and enticed men to break up more ground and convert it to tillage, than all the penal laws for that purpose made and enacted could ever by compulsion effect. A third proof may be, that the prices of grain and victual were never of late years more reasonable."

But the abundance of corn, which drew from the great philosopher this exulting utterance, was of fleeting duration, as only five years later we find him introducing into Parliament a bill that was in substance the same as that which had existed for more than a century, but which had been repealed during the temporary increase of corn. This renewed Act allowed that<sup>1</sup> "all land in specified counties which had been employed in tillage at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was to be restored, and was to continue to be used for arable purposes, though it may be laid down with grass for a time in order to recover strength. And the Act was not to be so enforced as to prevent the employment of the course of husbandry which the occupier found convenient." But the time seemed to have passed when such a measure could be of practical service. In the next reign the statute was allowed to lapse, and it appears evident that then the encroachment on tillage had practically ceased. At this period, too (1593 and 1597), wool-growing—another early English industry—was in a flourishing condition. In the next century it did not improve, nor even retain its market-price; but the price of corn remained healthy.

Besides the aid of legislation in narrowing the limits of grazing land, and maintaining the acreage of arable land, efforts were made to increase the home-prices of corn. Barriers had previously been put in the way of exporting corn, because it was believed by the legislators that the high price to which grain had risen in the market was due to excessive exportation. The means used for remedying

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's "Growth of Eng. Industry," &c. (modern times), p. 53.



what was considered an evil, was to sanction the exports of corn only when the price at home was 6s. 8d. This was the scheme enacted in the time of Philip and Mary. During the reign of Elizabeth, the price was 10s. ; and in 1592 the limit fixed was 20s. But whilst Parliament under Philip and Mary, and afterwards under Elizabeth, was trying to cheapen the price of corn, by stopping or restricting the price, that article was becoming dearer.

Harrison, in his "Description of England," endeavours to account for this rise in the price of corn, and he says : " The engrossers, and large farmers, were able to raise the prices for their own profit, to the disadvantage alike of the consumer and the small farmers. He would have taken measures to check the market operations of ' Bodgers,' or middlemen, as the best means of securing that there should be plenty of corn in the market at a reasonable price." Others, instead of contenting themselves with the comparatively mild position of Harrison, opposed outright the sanction which allowed any kind of exportation of corn. Clearly the end to which these desires tended was contracting, rather than expanding, arable farming ; but, fortunately, the rulers of the country, resolving to devote to its navy the profits of increased tillage, recognised the fact, that regular and increasing supplies of corn could only be obtained by allowing the farmer to find the most remunerative markets. Instead, therefore, of yielding to popular clamour by prohibiting corn exportation, they empowered the justices "to settle in each locality how far the export of grain may be permitted at any time."

There were other attempts made by the Government to extend the interest of Agriculture, such as the passing of what was called the Apprentices Act, which provided that, in time of emergency, such as the gathering in of harvest, artificers were to help in saving the crops. Legislation tried also to protect the farmer from loss, through the depredation of crows, rooks, and vermin, by ordaining that churchwardens should assist the farmers, and that

the money raised should be spent in giving rewards for the heads and eggs of birds "which did most damage to crops."

Another venture on behalf of Agriculture during this reign, to which reference must be made, was the endeavour to bring more land within its reach, by reclaiming the Fens. Although it was fraught with promise of large advantage to the country, the undertaking was not allowed to begin, nor to proceed, save in the face of bitter opposition. And those who were most constant and violent in their opposition were the fishermen and the fowlers, who found in the Fens abundant scope for the exercise of their callings. From their point of view, the action of the Government aimed at ruining the interest of an important section of the community.

Yet it was incongruous to have Englishmen going over the seas to make plantations whilst at their own doors such a large tract of country was lying idle, simply from want of resolution and skill. And as far as the fenmen were concerned, it was one of those cases in which the few have to be sacrificed for the sake of the many.

The Act for recovering many thousands of acres of marshy ground in the Isle of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, in Norfolk, in Leicester, in Huntingdonshire, and in some other counties, was intended to remove the preliminary difficulty which lies in the way of all such undertakings. The common law rights in those waters could not have been extinguished by any process of law; and so the statute was passed in order to enable the Lords of Manors, and the Commoners, to make terms with those who undertook to improve the property by drainage. "The measure is of little importance as an enacting statute, but it marks the beginning of the great work of improvement which occupied much attention in subsequent years, and to which Englishmen were incited by the example of the Dutch." "The actual attempt which was carried out in this reign (Elizabeth) had no direct bearing on the increase of tillage. As far as we can gather they only tried to pre-

vent the inundations of the sea on certain low ground, so as to obtain additional grazing for cattle. And, even under James I., they only aimed at making the Fens sufficiently dry in the summer to serve a similar purpose. They did not attempt to keep them free from floods in the winter, or bring them under crops until a later date."

From the time of the last of the Tudors, under whom the industrial life of England may be said to have fairly begun, we pass to observe its continuance under the Stuarts. Whilst under the *régime* of Elizabeth, attention—as shown by the statutes passed on its behalf—was directed principally to the increase of tillage. Under the Stuarts the primal consideration was the improvement of tillage; for, as we have already noticed, the law against the exportation of corn which had been in force during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, was so far relaxed towards its close, and the popular repugnance was so far overcome, that the farmers had freer access to foreign markets, and, better prices being secured, the area of tillage was increased; so that attention could now be more hopefully directed to the improvement of tillage.

One of these improvements consisted in the systematic enclosure of land. Of course the practice of enclosures existed long before this, but the object for which it had been employed was quite different from that for which it was now used. Its previous object had been the increase of sheep farming, and by it tillage had been reduced. This, however, had almost ceased with Elizabeth's reign. Enclosure, in its later sense, related not to the increase of sheep farming, but to the increase of tillage.

Hartlib, after referring in this connection to the example of the Dutch, who were then England's pattern in Agricultural, as well as in Commercial matters, proceeds with the following observations: "Enclosing," he says, "with a good hedgerow, preserves the land warm, and defends and shelters it from those nipping winds that generally nip and destroy much of the corn, pulse, or whatever grows on the open field, or champion grounds; and preserves it also from

those drying and scorching winds more frequent in hot and dry springs, much damaging the champion lands ; it much preserves that fertility and riches the land is either subject unto, or that is by diligent care and cost of the husbandman, added. It furnisheth the owners thereof with a great burthen of corn, pulse, or whatever is sown thereon. Also when it is laid open for meadow, or pasture, it yields much more grass than the open field-land, and the hedges being well planted with trees afford shelter and shadow for the cattle both in summer and winter, which else would destroy more with their feet than they eat with their mouths, and might lose more of their fat and flesh in one hot day than they gain in those cool days."

Taylor's opinions were still more pronounced regarding the gain that would accrue to Agriculture if common fields that were already under tillage were to be enclosed. He says : " I desire it may be considered if these benefits would not follow, as first whether it would not be more profitable if enclosed, and that every man had all his own ground at his own disposing to make choice of these grounds most fit for corn ; then to employ less labour, less cost, and much more increase ; for oftentimes it is seen that the common fields are very much impoverished by continual ploughing, especially in light, sandy, and gravelly grounds, or in any other like ground where the soil is but shallow. . . . Besides, such light ground in wet years doth produce tares, and other weeds, very destructive to the corn, all which would be avoyded if the husbandman could make choyce of his ground to such uses as his experience shall find it most fit for." At this period also, that is, in the reign of James I., an earnest attempt was made to cultivate mulberry trees, " so that we might be able to provide the raw material for the silk manufacture," and, according to Dr. Cunningham, it was at this time that root crops appear to have been, to some extent, introduced into the course of husbandry. By the same authority Watson refers to them, and Young had occasion to criticise the manner of growing

turnips which had become traditional at the date of his tours. "But, on the other hand," observes our author, "it does not appear that much practical result followed from the recommendation of clover, sainfoin, and lucerne as means of cleansing the fields." The cultivation of these grasses seems to have been one of the distinct improvements of the eighteenth century. A very important question at this time arose, a question that has several times since that date reappeared in the affairs of Agriculture. It was the question how the landlord should treat a tenant who may have invested his own capital of labour and money in improving the land that he rented. To show a way out of the difficulty, Dymock offered the following suggestion: "According to the usual custom in Flanders, a law may be made for letting and hiring Leases upon improvements; when the manner is, that the farmer covenanteth on his part, to improve the land to such or such a greater rent by an orderly and excellent management of husbandry as well as of buildings. The landlord on the other side covenanteth on his part, at the expiration of the said Lease to give so many years' purchase of the improvement (according to agreement) which is for three or four years or sometimes more; or, to give out of it such a parcil or moiety of ground. And if land formerly going at 6s. an acre, be upon improvement worth 10s. or 13s. 4d. an acre, the Landlord is to give 4s. or 5s. upon every acre, more or less according to agreement."

Another great improvement in Agriculture, which was of home and not foreign origin, but which, by the strong manner in which its use was urged by several authors, appears not to have been extensively employed, was the employment of manure; and the substances then regarded as manures were marl, chalk, lime, snagg-root, Cornish sea-sand, ashes, salt, fish, and woollen rags. The outcome of all these improvements—which from the standpoint of revenue must have been extremely gratifying to the Government—is strikingly shown in the rise of rents. Norden mentions the rivalry that was incidental to secur-

ing the land at this period, as "a kind of madness," but he goes on to add, "in the best sense it is a kind of ambitious, or rather avaricious emulation, wherein they strive one to outstrip another in giving most; as when myself have had business of this nature namely, of letting, setting, or selling of land, for years or lives, being, or never being determined, in farms or other like, whereby the lord hath been at liberty to dispose thereof at his will, for best advantage by choice of a new tenant. Proclamation to that effect has been made in open Court, where I have seen, and it is daily in use, that one will outbid another, as at an outcry in London, in so much as I have wondered at their emulation, and could not have asked what they have raised unto themselves. And should any that is in authority in this case (who in duty is not to hinder the lord, or the lord himself), exhibit such hot spirits to climb for the lord's advantage as the ladder of their own will, and supposed ability will reach? This is not as one swallow in a summer, but they are many, and everywhere, winter and summer; and yet are other men accused and condemned for them and their faults if these will be a fault in itself; but I should think it greater madness for a lord willfully to refuse what is so voluntarily offered, and so willfully given. Now who is the cause of raising rents and fines?"

So far, then, what we have been considering is increased market facilities for corn at the close of the last reign, and under the Stuarts, improved methods of tillage, larger productions of corn, greater profits, a wider agricultural development, further reproduced in a greater demand for land. And this increased land demand would quite enable us to understand the activity of Parliament in pushing forward the reclamation of the thousands of acres of waste lands lying in marshes. Under James I. a Corporation was formed, and invested with extensive powers to carry into completion the work begun by Elizabeth. "The Fens are a long stretch of country through which some half-dozen rivers find their way to the Wash; and as the land

lies very low, these rivers were always apt to overflow the country. The scheme of draining, which eventually succeeded, appears to have been devised by a Dutchman, named Vermuïden. He pointed out that it would be a great expense to make sufficient banks along the course of each of these six rivers, and that the current was not sufficient at all seasons of the year to prevent the tide from silting up their mouths. He therefore proposed to bring the water from these rivers into two or three newly formed channels, which should carry the river water across the flat country, and which should have body of water enough to keep their channels open. Parliament gave him considerable encouragement, and a large number of labourers from the Low Countries were imported to carry out the work." The labourers afterwards formed a regular settlement at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, and, for reasons already pointed out, their relations with the Fenmen were the reverse of cordial. But the interests of Agriculture prevailed, the land was rescued from water, and one of the finest corn-growing centres of England was provided. The draining of Hatfield Chase was next undertaken by Vermuïden. The difficulties it presented were even more formidable than those of the Fens. The scheme, as originally planned, "involved turning all the waters of the Don into the northern channel of that river; the southern part of the Chase was improved, but the northern part suffered severely for many years, until the so-called Dutch river was cut. As the whole of the property was vested in the Crown, it did not appear at first sight that there would be as much legal obstacle as had hindered the work in the Cambridgeshire Fens, but facts falsified this idea." The settlers on the recovered land, many of whom were Dutch, were constantly attacked by the commoners, and from 1626 to 1719 there were constant struggles, sometimes carried on by legal means, sometimes with open violence. The foreign settlers suffered severely in 1642, when the Lancashire Committee of Defence took the desperate measure of flooding the

country, in order to check the advance of Royal troops. And when Parliament triumphed, the cause of the commoners was taken up by John Lilburn, and their persistence might have met with success if it had not been for the intervention of Nathaniel Reading, who vigorously defended the rights of those who had obtained shares in the recovered land.

Whilst maintaining the position of ascent to which favourable circumstances had borne it, corn was further dowered by Parliament with a bounty. Such an Act is a clear proof of the change that had come over public opinion ; so that whilst we find Parliament now in 1689, with the sanction of the nation, bestowing a bounty upon corn, in 1592, as it will be remembered, there was a great outcry, not indeed against bounty, but against the exportation of corn to foreign countries.

But the application of bounty to corn was not the only one of the more recent stimuli that Agriculture received ; there was also another important one, improved methods of intercommunication. As showing the hindrance that the absence of good roads caused to Agriculture and trade generally, the remarks of Homer are in point. "Few people," he says, "cared to encounter the difficulties which attended the conveyance of goods from the places where they were manufactured to the markets where they were disposed of. And those who undertook this business were only enabled to carry it on in the wintry season on horseback, or, if in carriages, by winding deviations from the roughest tracts, which the open country afforded them an opportunity of making. Thus the same cause which was injurious to trade, laid waste also a considerable part of our lands. The natural produce of the country was with difficulty circulated to supply the necessities of those counties and trading towns which wanted, and to dispose of the superfluity of others which abounded. Except in a few summer months it was an almost impracticable attempt to carry very considerable quantities of it to remote places. Hence the consumption of the growth of



grain as well as of the inexhaustible stores of fuel, which nature has lavished upon particular parts of the island, was limited to the neighbourhood of those places which produced them, and made them, comparatively speaking, of little value to what they would have been had the participation of them been more enlarged. To the operation of the same cause must also be attributed, in great measure, the slow progress which was formerly made in the improvement of Agriculture. Discouraged by the expense of procuring manure, and the uncertain returns which arose from such confined markets, the farmer wanted spirit and ability to exert himself in the cultivation of his land. On this account undertakings in husbandry were then generally small, calculated rather to be a means of subsistence to particular families than a source of wealth to the Public." . . . "The great obstruction to the reformation, which had been accomplished, was founded upon a principle adopted by Gentlemen of Property in the County, which experience has since proved to be as erroneous as it is selfish, viz., that it would be injurious to their tenants to render the markets in their neighbourhood more accessible to distant farmers, and consequently a diminution of their estates."

It ought to be recorded to the honour of the present century, that it was the first which produced public spirit enough to renounce that prejudice, and by this circumstance only to have given, as it were, a new birth to the other genius of this island. It is owing to the alteration, which has taken place in consequence thereof, that we are now released from treading in the over-cautious steps of our forefathers, and that our very carriages travel with almost winged expedition between every town of consequence in the kingdom. By this, as well as the yet more valuable project of increasing navigation, a facility of communication is soon likely to be established from every part of the island to the sea, and from the several places to each other. Trade is no longer fettered by the embarrassments which invariably attended our former situation.

Dispatch, which is the very life and soul of business, becomes daily more attainable, by free circulation in every channel which is adapted to it. The natural blessings of the island are shared by the inhabitants of the land with a more hopeful equality. The constitution itself acquires firmness by the stability and increase both of trade and wealth, which are the nerves and sinews of it.

According to all this the demand for the produce of the lands advances proportionately with their annual value, and in the amount of yearly purchases for which they are sold, according to such value. Nor does there appear to have been any local injury to particular estates by this change of circumstances, though, if there had, the land-owners ought to have submitted to it, on account of the greater advantage resulting to the public. The estates have, in fact, become more valuable as their situation is brought nearer to the trading towns, and as the number of inhabitants in such towns is enlarged by the increase of trade. There never was a more astonishing revolution accomplished in the internal system of any country than has taken place within the compass of a few years in that of England. The carriage of grain, coal, merchandise, &c., is now conducted with little more than half the number of horses which were formerly employed. Journeys of business are performed with more than double the expedition.

Improvements in Agriculture keep pace with those in Trade. Everything wears the face of dispatch; every article of produce becomes more valuable; and the thing which has guided all these movements, and upon which they have turned, has been the reformation which has been made in our public roads.

The improved methods in agriculture, which during the Stuarts' dynasty became so distinct, together with the free export of corn abroad and the increased market facilities at home, conferred upon that pursuit a high degree of prosperity. So that, save when visited by famine, the English people have not only been able in past times to feed themselves from the products of their own soil, but

they have been able also to export a surplus of food to other countries.

When, however, we approach the end of the eighteenth century, we come upon a very different condition of things ; for then we find that the nation has outgrown its ability to support itself by the products of its own soil.

#### MANUFACTURES.

From Agriculture, as the leading industry in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, we turn to other departments of national enterprise, dealing first with the development of *Manufactures*. Woollen and linen goods were the original materials produced by manual industries.

“The manufacture of wool into fabrics for clothing is one of the oldest industries. At a very early date the primitive man, or rather, the primitive woman, discovered that the coarse wool of sheep—the first of domesticated animals—could be spun into long threads, woven, and then by rubbing with clay and beating in water, thickened or filled until it furnished a satisfactory substitute for the pelts of the sheep which had, until then, formed the clothing of man. From these rude garments the transition to those of finer and more skilful workmanship, such, for instance, as are shown on ancient Egyptian monuments, was gradual, and must have required long periods of development. The production of dyed garments, of shawls, and of carpets, often of elaborate patterns, and requiring protracted labour, was attempted at a very early period ; and the manufacture of tents and certain cloths, of tapestry-hanging embroidered with needlework, and those vestments of lamb’s wool, and the rich imperial robes of the Syrian people, came somewhat later. Some of the Persian, Greek, and Roman cloths, robes, and shawls must have been very beautiful ; but in the ages which followed on the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, the art of manufacturing them, like most of the finer arts, was nearly lost. The says and serges of the Middle Ages were made from

coarse and harsh wools. The rough friezes, made of still coarser wool in Friesland, were still more objectionable, and the manufacture, such as it was, existed mainly in Florence, in Flanders, in England, and in France. Until after the Reformation the manufacture of woollen goods was almost entirely domestic."

In the eleventh century, during the reign of William the Conqueror, woollen manufacture was introduced into England by the Flemings. From the end of the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century this domestic manufacture of worsteds, baizes, kerseys, friezes, broad-cloths, and other cloths, was carried on very extensively in England, and considerable quantities of each kind of goods were exported.

Linen is one of the earliest of textile manufactures. There are pieces of linen extant that were woven four thousand years ago; and, at the time of Herodotus, linen was an article of export in Egypt. Mummies are wrapped with materials composed of linen. In the performance of their sacred functions the Hebrew priests were clad with garments principally of linen. The numerous allusions in Holy Writ to linen indicate the esteem in which it was held. Linen was made in Scotland in the reign of Charles I., but on a very small scale, and in a rude style. It was woven in Ireland as early as the eleventh century, but it was Louis Commelin—a refugee driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes—who set it on a firm footing.

In England the career of linen began at an early date, and was much used. Materials made of linen were worn by the Anglo-Saxons. Fine linen is said to have been first made in Wilts and Sussex in 1253. Flemish weavers were introduced into England in 1331; and, in 1386, a guild of linen-weavers was established in London, but their success appears to have been limited. The manufacture of linen appears to have been in its infancy during the reign of Charles II.

In the reign of Elizabeth, beside the constant endeavour

to preserve and extend those industries that already existed in the realm, efforts were also made to introduce new ones. Hence, in 1565, we find two men, named Wade and Herlle, receiving a patent by which they had the exclusive right, for thirty years, to produce brimstone. In this same year an important concession was made to a company consisting of certain German adventurers in conjunction with the Lord Keeper Bacon and others. By their operations, carried on in the Forest of Dean, considerable improvements were made in wire-drawing and in other manufactures.

It was at this time also that one of the most remarkable inventions of the period was made. It was the Stocking Frame, which gave rise to a new and important branch of industry. The inventor, William Lee, who studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, brought out his "frame" in 1589, and the story with which its origin is associated is, that the dissatisfaction he felt at the immoderate attention paid by his lady friend to her knitting, during his visits, determined him to devise some means whereby the demands of the knitting would be less exorbitant; and the stocking frame was the issue of that resolve. But notwithstanding the high merit and value of the discovery, in an age when the number of inventions resembled oases of the desert, so strong was public prejudice, and also that of the Queen, that the inventor had to seek the fruitage of his ingenuity in France.

Another fresh industry was the manufacture of salt. Dependence on foreign supplies for this article, and the exportation of specie incident thereto, features which were highly objectionable according to the economists of that date, led to the granting of a patent to the Earl of Pembroke, and others, for twenty years, for the exclusive production of salt.

Sir John Packington took out a patent for making starch, but, unlike Pembroke, he was soon drawn into serious antagonism with existing interests, since he claimed that the starch recently imported into the country by the

grocers, and for which a ready and profitable market was found, should be seized and destroyed.

An attempt was made to manufacture glass, but it proved abortive.

Sail-cloth—for which commodity this country was dependent on French production—was also attempted.

“The manufacture of cotton began in the East, where the cotton plant is indigenous, and where the climate renders a light and absorbent fabric a suitable clothing for the people. It has in consequence been long established over every part of Asia. It was only in India that the fabric was manufactured extensively with a view to foreign exchange. Arrain mentions cotton cloth among commodities which the Romans brought from India, but the quantity imported by them was inconsiderable, because of the preference which they gave to woollen clothing. . . . The implements used by the Indians in the different processes of cotton manufacture, from the cleaning of the wool to its conversion into the finest muslin, may be purchased for the value of a few shillings, and are of so rude and simple a construction as to be evidently the invention of a very early period. With the exception of the loom, none of them deserves the name of a machine, or displays the slightest mechanical ingenuity. They spin the yarn upon the distaff; and yet, with all the advantages which manufacturers in the West derive from machinery, they have only recently been able to equal, either in fineness or in other qualities, the yarn which is produced by this primitive instrument.”

There is abundant evidence to show that, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and probably before that time, cotton was cultivated, and converted into clothing, in most of the countries occupying the southern Mediterranean shores. The European conquerors of Mexico, in their first invasion of that country, found native manufactures of cotton, both unmixed and mixed with the fine hairs of rabbits and hares. Some of these fabrics were sent by Cortes to Spain, as presents to the Emperor Charles V.

Cotton was cultivated and manufactured at an equally early period by different nations on the coast of Guinea; and it is stated by Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," that cotton cloths were imported into London in 1590 from the Bight of Benin. Like the introduction of woollen manufacture into Britain, cotton was introduced by the Dutch, who found here an asylum from the persecutions and outrages to which, in their own country in the sixteenth century, their Protestant faith exposed them. That this trade commenced in England about the close of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century is evident from the records of Lewis Roberts, in his "Treasures of Traffic," published in 1641. He says: "The town of Manchester buys linen yarn from the Irish in great quantity, and weaving it, returns the same again in linen into Ireland to sell. Neither does her industry rest here, for they buy cotton wool in London that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and work the same into fustians, vermilions, and dimities, which they return to London, where they are sold, and from thence not seldom are sent into such foreign parts, where the first material may be more easily had for that manufactured."

The effort made under Queen Elizabeth to free the country from dependence on foreign salt supply was not altogether successful, and so, to remedy the injury which the insufficiency of salt had brought upon the fishing interest in the reign of Charles I., more active efforts were made to resuscitate and increase the home manufacture. Salt-pans were erected at Shields, and a corporation was formed. In this industry the English found in the Scotch a dangerous rival. Coal, labour, and food being one-half cheaper in Scotland, the Scotch salt workers could undersell the English in their own markets; and therefore, in order to protect the English producer, a protective tax was imposed. The conditions of this tax were, however, more advantageous to the Scotch than to the foreign salt manufacturers.

The hardware trade did not escape attention. Iron

smelting was carried on, but the furnaces were supplied with wood. Copper manufacture in 1713 had reached a high degree of prosperity, and coal only was used for smelting.

The coal trade was another very important addition to the industries of the country. The origin of coal-mining is uncertain, but very remote. It had been followed both in Scotland and in Yorkshire for ages, but its introduction into the district of Newcastle-on-Tyne occurred much later.

Having now touched upon certain of the principal British industries, we proceed to notice more in detail, the conditions under which they were developed.

One of these conditions was the exclusion of foreign goods from the country. The trade policy of Elizabeth was strictly protective. Although the Act passed early in her reign prohibiting the introduction of foreign goods, did not include so large a variety of articles, as similar statutes which had been passed in the preceding reigns, yet its principles, and its tendencies, were much the same. The reason given for the Act, as set forth in the preamble was, that foreign workmen were being encouraged, "to the consequent enrichment of other realms, while our own workmen were unemployed."

Nor were these restrictions confined to foreign countries, for they applied to our own Colonies and Dependencies also, and even to other parts of the United Kingdom. Thus, after the Irish had recovered from the shock caused by the settlement among them of the disbanded army of the Commonwealth, and had betaken themselves to the peaceful pursuit of pasture farming, and thereby succeeded in establishing a brisk trade in cattle between Ireland and England, the failure of rents in several English counties was thought to be caused by this importation of Irish cattle, and Parliament passed a law prohibiting the further importation.

India, too, in its silk, muslins, and painted calicoes, was regarded as a menace to English industries; and as such, a source of disquietude to the Legislators, until



the expedient was resolved upon of locking up these offending goods in warehouses, until they could be re-exported to other markets.

The fiat of prohibition even extended to the North American Colonies. To protect sail-cloth of British make, it was ordered that every vessel built in this country, or in America, should be furnished, at her first sailing, with a complete set of new sails, made of sail-cloth manufactured in Great Britain. A penalty of 50 dollars was imposed on the master who did not comply with this order, and sail-makers were obliged to stamp every sail with their names, so as to prevent the fraudulent substitution of foreign for British sail-cloth.

Besides the prohibition of imported foreign goods, there were also conditions under which the exportation of British manufactured or unmanufactured goods were restricted. As, for example, the severe measure passed in 1566 forbidding the exportation of English sheep or lambs alive, the penalty being, the loss of a hand for the first offence, whilst for a second offence the offender was dealt with as a felon. The object of such an Act was to preserve the English breed of sheep.

The exportation of unmanufactured products, such as might be finished at home, was prohibited by law. Thus it was also "enacted that no Kentish or Suffolk cloth was to be exported unless it was dressed; and that for every nine unwrought cloths sent from other parts of England, one dressed cloth should be sent abroad."

Further, in 1660, a law was passed, restricting the exportation of wool, woolfells, woolflocks, fullers', or scoring earths in general. And, in 1662, another measure designed to check the exportation of hides was passed.

But concurrently with restrictive exportation without, there was the free use within of stimulative measures, for the absorption of goods accumulated through the other of these two procedures. For example, in the Tudor period, a very important manufacture—as will be perceived from the number of places where it was carried on—was the

making of caps. Exeter, Bristol, Monmouth, Hereford, Bridgnorth, Bewdley, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Nantwich, Alcester, Stafford, Lichfield, Coventry, York, Richmond, Beverley, Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Shrewsbury, Wellington, Southampton, Canterbury, were among the places where this industry thrived. The different forms of labour absorbed by this trade is shown in the following titles of its employés: carders, spinners, knitters, parters, forcers, thickers, dressers, walkers, dyers, battlers, shearers, pressers, edgers, liners, and band-makers. By the amount of labour employed, and the number of places with which its manufacture was identified, we have no difficulty in understanding the importance of this branch of industry. In order to promote it, when it was alleged that the people were discontinuing the use of caps, and that in consequence the industry was declining, Queen Elizabeth passed a law which decreed that, "on every Sunday and Holy Day every person of six years and upwards, with some few exceptions, was to wear on his head one cap of wool, fully wrought in England; and if he neglected to do so he was to pay three and fourpence for each offence."

For the purposes of promoting the woollen trade, of diminishing the importation of linen—and thereby the sending abroad the specie in payment—as well as preventing the prodigal consumption of linen fabrics, Parliament, under the Stuarts, passed a law, and took the necessary precautions for its enforcement, that, under a penalty of five pounds, every person deceased should be buried in a coffin lined with materials made of wool, and should be shrouded in the same. Again in the reign of Queen Anne (1738) we find statesmen discussing in Parliament whether serge should be substituted for silk in the covering of buttons, with a fervency and an eloquence no less enthralling than their successors have employed in shaping the destiny of an Empire.

Once more, in 1722 the exportation of silk was rewarded with a bounty of three shillings per pound weight; whilst

silk mixed with gold or silver received four shillings, and silk stockings, &c., one shilling.

And still another condition by which the development of British industries was sought, was their regulation by monopolies. And the reasons given for so regulating them were, according to Dr. Cunningham, (1) political or "reasons of State. (2) To maintain the quality and therefore the reputation of English goods by keeping up the standard. (3) To reward those who introduced some new trade, or improved process."

Under the patents issued for wire-drawing to Lord Bacon and his company in 1565, to Wade and Herlle for the preparation of brimstone, to the Earl of Pembroke for the manufacture of salt, and to Sir John Packington for the preparation of starch, we have already dealt with No. 3, of these reasons. No. 1 is illustrated by the action of Elizabeth, when, for the manufacture of gunpowder, saltpetre was placed under the immediate control of the Crown. Cecil communicating the matter to Parliament in 1601, thus alludes to it: "There is another patent for saltpetre that hath been both accused and slandered; it digs in every man's house, it annoys the inhabitants and generally troubleth the subject, for this I beseech you to be content. . . . Her Majesty means to take this patent unto herself, and advise with her Council touching the same, for I must tell you that the kingdom is not so well furnished with powder now as it should be." Another example occurred in the reign of James I., the manufacturers of gold and silver threads, being believed to waste the treasure of the realm, became objects of strong suspicion; and after several futile attempts had been made to regulate the trade, it was handed over to patentees, who made themselves responsible for the importation of bullion. But on the advice of Bacon, like saltpetre by the Queen, the King afterwards took the industry under his direct control.

As an exemplification of No. 2, the wardens of London (Haberdashery Company, for example) were to have a

right of search in regard to the hats and caps which required much oversight.

So, too, in regard to the trades which work in leather, all men living within three miles of the City of London, and working in this way, were to make their payments to the London Companies, and to be under the survey of the wardens. The Companies of the carriers, saddlers, and shoemakers were organised as the proper authorities for seeing into the matters connected with this branch of industry.

Similarly, after a series of disgraceful frauds against the goldsmiths had been discovered in 1574, the wardens and fellowships of the Company were made liable for any losses that occurred, "if plates which bore their mark were not of the proper touch."

On the other hand, the granting of patents to individuals was sometimes adopted, as the best means of regulating industry in out-of-the-way places, where no Guild could exercise supervision. Sir Edward Darcy had a patent in 1592 for the sealing and searching of leather throughout the whole of England; and a very good thing he seems to have made of it. His exactions were quite intolerable, as he sometimes took 33 per cent. on the value of the skin for his trouble.

A still more curious proposal was the offer of a certain Mr. Edward Dymock, and again, Sir Thomas Mildmay, to supervise all the strangers in England. The tragedies of evil May Day had been re-acted in 1586, and there were general complaints of the number of aliens, and of the way in which they retailed goods. A roll was therefore to be kept of them, with full details of their names, families, occupations, time of residence, and so forth. But Cecil was opposed to any unnecessary restrictions on the foreign refugees; and consequently no action was taken in the matter.<sup>1</sup>

From the conditions of monopolies, we pass on to observe industry, under those conditions which were created

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, p. 50.

by the immigration of foreign artisans into this country. Checked by the bit and bridle of Spanish bigotry, and goaded by the tortures of the Inquisition, the freedom-loving Netherlanders broke out into open revolt; and the cruel Alva was sent to put this down with the utmost rigour. On arriving in the Netherlands (1567), the first use he made of his unlimited power, was the summoning of the "Bloody Council," over which he presided for a while, though he subsequently delegated the presidency to the sanguinary Don Juan de Vergas. This rapacious tribunal is said to have "condemned all, without distinction," whose opinions appeared dubious, or whose wealth excited its cupidity. The present and the absent, the living and the dead, were subjected alike to trial, and "their property confiscated by this Council." It was under such circumstances that 100,000 persons, of whom some were merchants, mechanics, and artisans, fled from their native land; and, seeking new homes in foreign lands, many of them settled in various parts of England. We learn that the first of these settlements was made at Sandwich, in Kent, to which town permission was given in 1561 to receive twenty to five and twenty master workmen, with their families, servants, &c., in order to exercise "the facultie of making bay or other cloth," for the fishing in the seas.

The Mayor and Corporation of Norwich sought and obtained leave for the settlement of some of those strangers in their midst. Thirty families, some of whom were Dutch, and others Walloon, thus took up their abode in that town, and by their skill and industry soon restored to its weaving industry the prosperity which it had lost. Other towns, perceiving the advantages arising from this transfusion of foreign skill, petitioned to have the strangers settled amongst them also. In 1577 Southampton and Maidstone had their accessions, which, in the latter place, engaged in the manufacture of thread. "The cloth made by the settlers soon became known as the 'new drapery,'" and as early as 1578 they had a most elaborate system of searching the work at every stage of its manufacture.

They also introduced linen weaving into Maidstone; and the making of gallipots. Their work and trade were regulated by the Corporation.

But Colchester was the most celebrated of the foreign settlements. In 1570 eleven families had taken up their abode there, and these were afterwards joined by some fifty more who had escaped to Sandwich from Flanders, and who were desirous of following their calling at Colchester. Besides the weaving of sackcloth, and other cloths of fine quality, the aliens wished also to produce needles and parchment. At the time these trades were almost unknown to the town of Colchester. "Other settlements were Stamford, Halstead, Yarmouth, Lynn, and Dover. At Stamford, Cecil gave the immigrants a house of his own to live in. At Halstead, the strangers started weaving as an industry, and when they tried to leave, in order to join their fellow-countrymen at Colchester, the inhabitants petitioned that they might be compelled to return." In 1582, when the fortunes of the French Huguenots became desperate, there was a considerable immigration of foreign silk-weavers to these shores. They did not meet with a very friendly reception when they plied their craft in London, but they succeeded before very long in doing a flourishing trade. Others carried on a prosperous business at Coventry and at Canterbury. "The troubles of the Huguenots under Louis XIV., which culminated in the Revocation of the 'Edict of Nantes,' roused a very generous feeling in this country on their behalf; and native artisans, who were jealous of their intrusion, had little opportunity of making an effective opposition. In 1681, Charles II. issued an edict granting the refugees letters of naturalisation, and trading privileges; and he authorised charitable collections to be taken up on their behalf. They were also to be admitted, with their tools and merchandise, customs free. A similar course was adopted by James II., in 1685, when a very large number of refugees from Normandy and Brittany settled in Spitalfields, Long Acre, Soho, and other London suburbs. Nearly a third of the whole

number of immigrants came to those districts, and the remaining two-thirds were distributed at Canterbury, Sandwich, Norwich, Southampton, Glastonbury, Winchelsea, Dover, and Wandsworth. A small colony migrated as far as Edinburgh. But despite the hearty welcome which they received, they were not admitted to full citizenship until the reign of Queen Anne. The influence of these incomers on industry was very considerable. It affected not only the silk and linen trades, but such manufactures also as those of paper, clocks, glass, locks, and surgical instruments. The settlement in Spitalfields long preserved its special character, "and the inhabitants were marked by tastes and interests in which the English workmen scarcely shared."

Another textile trade which was introduced by the Huguenots was the weaving of lustings and *à la mode* silks. The Royal Lustings Company did not prosper, notwithstanding the fostering care that was bestowed upon it. The failure was ascribed as usual to smuggling, but it was more probably due to a change in fashion. In 1719 the silk manufacture received an additional impetus, by the invention of a machine for silk-throwing, which was erected at Derby by Sir Thomas Lombe, and worked by water power. The art of calico-printing was another industry in which the Huguenots excelled; and it appears to have been carried on by them in this country about the year 1690, when a small ground was established at Richmond in Surrey.

"There are several other lines of industry which were much benefited under the influence of foreign artisans. Thus the stoneware of Staffordshire was greatly improved by a new method of glazing earthenware, which was introduced from Holland by two brothers named Elers. They failed to preserve the secrets of their art, in spite of the most curious precautions; and the trade continued to make decided progress even before the Wedgewood era. So, too, with another manufacture, that of paper. Paper mills had existed here and there in this country since the time

of Henry VII., but great improvements appear to have been introduced at a later time by the French."

The same thing is observable in other British industries, and more particularly in cloth, as was noticed in relation to agriculture, a divorce between supply and demand. The fact has been alluded to, that in the seventeenth century (1641) the cotton industry was already established in this country. Bolton, and its environs, were the chief seats of the weaving trade. At the weekly markets, the Manchester merchants used to buy the woven goods, and these, after finishing them, they either forwarded to London for export, or supplied to their customers in different parts of the country. According to the methods by which weaving was then done, the weaver had first of all to secure the warp—which was of linen—and the cotton wool for the weft. But the considerable loss of time that the searching for these materials involved, led the buyers of Manchester to establish agencies in the villages for their sale. The yarn for the warp was thus bought, the weft carded and spun at home by the female members of the weavers' households, whilst the weaving of the cloth was done by the male members. In those days each of these houses fulfilled the functions of the factory. Under this system a change was introduced into the manufacture of cloth that greatly stimulated its consumption. The author, John Wilson of Ainsworth, was originally a manufacturer of fustians at Manchester, but he had also been engaged in the manufacture of cotton velvets. Through his improved methods in finishing, draping, and especially in dyeing, his goods were in such demand that he practically controlled the market. But besides enlarging the area of demand, Mr. Wilson's improvements had also the effect of increasing the output.

Another circumstance contributing to the general result was the transference, in 1760, of a large part of calico-printing from London to Lancashire. Cheaper labour, and cheaper accommodation, were the causes that determined that step, and its immediate effect was a fall in the



price of the manufactured goods. To meet the enlarged demand created by the improved quality of goods on the one hand, and the cheaper rate at which they were now to be purchased on the other, instead of the weaver providing, as heretofore, his materials, the Manchester buyer undertook the task, and began to pay the weaver at a fixed rate for each piece of cloth that he made. But even this change proved ineffectual in bridging over the chasm existing between weaving and spinning. The mode of spinning then prevalent did not, and could not, prepare the material at the same speed as it could be woven. Hence there was disproportion. Then the question arose, what could be done in order to bring the speed of spinning up to that of weaving, so that the ever increasing demand for cloth might be met? Necessity is said to be the mother of invention, and in answering this question, necessity did give proof of her fecundity. The "fly-shuttle," the "carding engine," Hargreaves' "spinning-jenny," Arkwright's spinning-frame, Compton's "mule-jenny," Cartwright's power-loom, and Watts' steam-power are they not progenies of genius and necessity? The fly-shuttle, one of the most important links in the chain of invention connected with the process of weaving, was produced about 1750, by one Kaye, of Bury. Hargreaves, a weaver of Stanhill, near Church—a man ignorant both of letters and technical knowledge—adapted the stock card, previously employed in woollen manufacture, to carding cotton. By this invention double the amount of work previously done could be got through. The cylinder-carding engine soon succeeded the "stock cards"; and although we are ignorant of its inventor, it is well known that, as early as the year 1762, the father of the late Sir Robert Peel had one of these engines erected at his works at Blackburn. The Spinning-Jenny, invented by Hargreaves, was patented in 1770, and was soon after greatly improved, so that eventually it was fitted with no less than eighty spindles. It was certainly the forerunner of those machines of its kind that have subsequently been

introduced, and in its mode of working it is not essentially different from the "hand twiner" of the present time.

While Hargreaves' Spinning-Jenny was in process of evolution, Arkwright's Spinning-frame, or throttle, was incubating in the soil of his fertile mind. This wonderful piece of machinery, "when put in motion, performs of itself the whole process of spinning, leaving to the workmen only the office of supplying the roving, or prepared, material, and of joining and piecing the thread when it breaks." But the Spinning-frame was not the only discovery that Arkwright made in the field of inventions; for we learn that "soon after his removal to Cromford, he followed up this great invention, with other inventions for preparing the cotton for spinning, and took out a patent for the same in the year 1775." In 1781, however, his right to the exclusive advantages of this invention was contested at law, with the result that the patent was disallowed.

The "Mule-Jenny," Samuel Compton's contribution to the art of spinning, in 1775, occupies a foremost place. But although possessing the greatest advantages, this machine "did not come into general use, nor was its value known, until the expiration of Arkwright's patent. After the spinners were allowed to make use of his fine process of preparation, through the cancelling of the patent, the power of this machine became known, and its introduction forms an important era in the history of cotton manufacture. Being fitted to supply those counts or 'gists' and qualities of yarn which the other machines could not produce, it enabled the manufacturer to enter upon fabrics which otherwise it would have been vain to attempt." At this stage also, James Watts, by means of his Steam Engine, joined the cavalcade of mechanical triumph.

We saw that the great disproportion between the speed of spinning and that of weaving, so fettered the progress of the latter as to threaten the prosperity of the cloth industry. Now, we must add, that the velocity imparted by steam and machinery to spinning was so great that,

by a possible out-distancing of weaving by spinning, the cloth industry would, from the opposite direction, be threatened with dislocation. Just at this critical juncture a genius, in the person of Dr. Cartwright, of Hollander House, Kent, appeared, and imposed upon the situation the equi-pose of his Power Loom. Concerning this invention Dr. Cartwright says: "Happening to be at Matlock in the summer of 1784, I fell in company with some gentlemen of Manchester, when the conversation turned on Arkwright's spinning machinery. One of the company observed, that as soon as Arkwright's patent expired, so many mills would be erected, and so much cotton spun, that hands never could be found to weave it. To this observation I replied that Arkwright must then set his wits to work, and invent a weaving mill. This brought on a conversation on the subject, in which the Manchester gentlemen unanimously agreed that the thing was impossible; and in defence of their opinion, they adduced arguments which I certainly was incompetent to answer, or even to comprehend, being totally ignorant of the subject, having never at that time seen a person weave. I controverted, however, the impracticability of the thing by remarking that there had lately been exhibited in London an automaton figure which played at chess. Some little time afterwards, recalling the conversation to my mind, it struck me that, as in plain weaving, according to the conception I then had of the business, there could only be three movements, which were to follow each other in their succession, there would be little difficulty in producing and repeating them. Full of these ideas, I immediately employed a carpenter and smith to carry them into effect. As soon as the machine was finished, I got a weaver to put in the warp, which was of such materials as sail-cloth is usually made of. To my great delight a piece, such as it was, was the product. I had never before turned my thoughts to anything mechanical, either in theory or practice, nor had I ever seen a loom at work. . . . My first loom must have been a very rude piece of machinery.

The warp was placed perpendicularly, the reed fell with a force of at least half a hundredweight, and the springs which threw the shuttle were strong enough to have thrown a Congreve rocket. In short it required the strength of two powerful men to work the machine at a slow rate, and only for a short time. Conceiving, in my great simplicity, that I had accomplished all that was required, I then secured what I thought to be a most valuable property by a patent, 4th April, 1785. This being done, I then condescended to see how other people wove; and you may guess my astonishment when I compared their easy mode of operation with mine. Availing myself, however, of what I then saw, I made a loom in its general principles nearly as they are now made, but it was not till the year 1787 that I completed my invention, when I took out my last weaving patent, August 1st of that year."

The application of machinery brought about an enormous increase of production in the textile trades, but this change was even more marked and striking in regard to the Iron Trade. During the earlier part of the century, the iron trade had been declining because of the difficulty of procuring fuel. A series of interesting experiments were made, in the time of James I., with the view of substituting the use of coal for wood-charcoal in the smelting of iron, but owing partly to the jealousy of other manufacturers, and partly to misfortunes of various kinds, these experiments ended in failure. Though there were one or two insignificant aspects in which some show of reward appeared, no great success attended them till 1760, when Roebuck erected blast furnaces at the Carron Works, and was able to work entirely with coal. Thus, with the use of coal in smelting, the decline was checked. There was, however, no very rapid progress until about 1790, when the steam engine was introduced to work the blast furnaces. With this more powerful blast, they were able also to save one-third of the coal that had hitherto been used in the smelting. The old blast furnaces had been worked by water, and considerable ingenuity had to be

exercised in order to get a powerful uninterrupted blast. "The effect of these improvements was unprecedented, and in 1796 the production of pig-iron was nearly double what it had been eight years before. Mr. Pitt had proposed, in 1796, to tax coal, and in 1797 to tax pig-iron, but he was forced to abandon both projects. When the latter was revived by Lord Henry Petty, in 1806, the bill passed the second reading by a narrow majority, but was dropped in committee." The returns which were made, and the discussions which took place in connection with the proposal, put on record an immense amount of information in regard to the manufacture of pig-iron, showing at the same time that the new inventions were bringing the iron trade rapidly to the front.

Shortly before the improvements in blast furnaces had been introduced, two very important inventions were patented by Mr. Cort of Gosport. In 1783 this gentleman took out a patent for converting pig-iron into malleable iron, with the aid of coal in common air-furnaces, by puddling. In the following year he obtained another patent, for manufacturing the malleable iron into bars, by means of rollers, instead of the forge-hammers which were then in use. The second of these two inventions was a great saving of time and labour, but it was the new form of blast-furnace which had the most remarkable effect on the distribution of the iron trade. While the trade was dependent on wood it flourished in the Forest of Dean, and in Sussex ; but after coal came into use the industry could be located in districts where water power was available, hence the revival of the South Wales Iron Works, which had been discontinued long before, from want of fuel. The use of water power infused new energy into the works at Cyfartha and Dowlais. The application, however, of steam rendered the ironmasters independent of water power, and blast furnaces could be erected wherever the presence of coal and iron made it convenient. In Gloucestershire the supply of fuel from the forest was readily replaced with coal ; but in other places, and notably

in Sussex, the ancient iron works ceased to be of importance, while numerous new centres of activity and industry were created in parts of Scotland, Wales, and the North of England, which had been practically barren before. The decrease of other fuel made it necessary for the population to have recourse to coal more constantly than had been the case earlier; and the new inventions in connection with the iron trade created a sudden demand, which acted by increasing the outputs of such fields as those of Newcastle and Scotland, and by taking fuller advantage of the coalfields of Lancashire and the Midlands, which the increased facilities for internal communication had rendered more accessible. The South Wales and Cumberland fields were also worked in a way that had been before unknown, and the increased production in the country generally was enormous.

The following table, illustrating this increase, is taken from the Commissioners' Report of 1871.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1660 the amount of coal produced was 2,148,000 tons.					
"	1700	"	"	"	2,612,000 "
"	1750	"	"	"	4,773,828 "
"	1770	"	"	"	6,205,400 "
"	1790	"	"	"	7,618,728 "
"	1795	"	"	"	10,080,300 "

There are some other features in the development of the coal trade that are not devoid of interest. During that period it was the only industry in which a system of regulation, as regards prices and astringency, as regards labour, was retained, or rather re-introduced. In other industries attempts at regulation at this time entirely broke down. Another peculiarity was what was called the "vend," which was an agreement among Newcastle coal-owners for the purpose, it would seem, of giving a chance to owners of other mines whose coals were of an inferior quality. The ship-owners naturally preferred to load with the best coal, so that—according to the opinion then held—if there were no such regulation, the whole trade would have fallen into the hands of a few coal-masters, whose

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, p. 463.

collieries produced coals of a superior kind ; whilst other owners would be ruined. Such a result, as was argued in 1800, would not benefit the public, since the few high-class mines would be able to charge what they liked for coals. It was upon this altruistic basis that the "vend" was established. According to the decrees of the "vend," promulgated in 1830, a committee was formed to represent the different collieries ; and the proprietors of the best coals were called upon to name the price at which they intended to sell their coals during the succeeding twelve months. By the price so fixed, the other proprietors fixed their prices. This being accomplished, the next point for settlement was the quantity that each colliery could raise at full work ; and upon the information furnished, the committee, assuming an imaginary basis, fixed the relative proportions, as regards quantity, between all the collieries. Whatever might be the fluctuations in the demands of the market, these proportions were rigidly adhered to. The committee met every month, "and according to the probable demand of the ensuing month, they issued so much per 1,000 to the different collieries ; that is, if they give me an imaginary basis of 30,000, and my neighbour 20,000, according to the quality of our coals, and our power of raising them in the monthly quantity ; if they issue 100 to the 1,000, I raise and sell 3,000 during the month, and my neighbour 2,000 ; but in fixing the relative quantities, if we take 800,000 chaldrons as the probable demand of the different markets for the year ; and if the markets should require more, an increased quantity would be given out monthly, so as to raise the annual quantity to meet that demand, were it double the quantity originally assumed."

And now we come to the close of this necessarily brief, and somewhat superficial, review of British enterprise. It resolves itself into two great departments, or issues, of which one is Agriculture and the other Manufacture. Of these two issues, Agriculture is the first-born and heir to the inheritance. On it all hopes centred, around it the

national aspirations gathered. But it was not a vigorous child, and the indifferent state of its health frequently aroused the most serious anxiety. The nation was its mother, and Parliament its nurse. The infantile life of this child was spent in the days when the Medical Art dwelt with Ignorance, and was under the tutelage of Superstition. Thus the mother and nurse, in their treatment of the child's disorders, drew from time to time largely from the stores of quackery. And under constant and varying suggestions of specific nostrums, by sincere and well-meaning friends, the child was richly supplied with every kind of remedy produced by that age.

Thus, at one time, tillage, as against sheep-farming, was the drug used. Then, at the advice of a friendly visitor, that was so far given up that tillage was left to take its chance against sheep-farming. In consequence of the change this child relapsed, and so the old restrictions were reinforced as formerly, and sheep-farming subordinated to tillage. Other remedies were, tariff on corn exported, then bounty on corn exported, compelling artificers to help in harvesting crops, the giving of rewards for the heads and eggs of crows, improved market facilities, improved methods in Agriculture, new plants and seeds, &c. But ultimately the child recovered, grew, and was prosperous; and so completely were all the early hopes realised in his subsequent career, that by him the ancestral name and house rose to an honourable place in the community of nations.

Looking back upon the treatment to which Agriculture, in its youth-time, was subjected, while we can recognise in "improved tillage," and "improved market facilities," the blossoms that ripened into golden fruitage, we can also see that "restrictive and prohibitive tariffs," and "excessive legislation," were things which tended to blight and to blast its future. Nevertheless, in the presence of a mother's devotion—a devotion lofty, pure, and true; in the presence of that solicitude which was ready to listen to every new suggestion, and to try every new remedy, however chime-



rical ; in consideration of the prosperity that was afterwards attained through this solicitude, and these experiments, we are willing to exonerate blame, and to crown sincere endeavour with a rich meed of praise.

After the birth of Agriculture, the nation, in its travail, brought forth another child, whose name was Manufacture. The birth of this child was due, as we said, to the influx of the Fleming foreigners. In its early years Manufacture was guarded by such restrictions as tariffs prohibiting foreign manufactured goods ; legislation prohibiting the export of unmanufactured goods, or the exportation of sheep or lambs of English breed ; legislation making the wearing of caps and the burying in shrouds made of wool, &c., obligatory ; and laws which fastened every branch of industry in the stocks of cramping monopolies. Such, however, was its capacity, and such were its endowments, that under the stimuli of Dutch and Huguenot immigration, and the magic wand of mechanical inventions, Manufacture arose, bursting all obstructive bands, and eclipsing the lustre of Agriculture, towered in the greatness of his might until the fame and name of the ancestral house rose to the first place among nations.

Changing the figure, we may say, the British industries, including Agriculture and Manufacture, are a great catchment basin, or a mighty reservoir. And the British Colonies and Dependencies may be regarded as a great sea. There is a stream connecting the reservoir with the sea, by whose overflow indeed it is formed. This stream is commerce or trade. If we navigate this stream, we shall find that its bed is what we call our " Merchant Marine," and that on either side of the river there is a dyke called our " Naval Marine." Our Commerce and Trade will therefore next engage our attention.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE GROWTH OF BRITISH COMMERCE

THE Anglo-Saxon tribes that conquered Britain were presumably, at the time of their conquest, skilled in ship-building and in the art of seamanship. Yet for four successive centuries these arts remained in a dormant state, only to be awakened into activity by the energy of Alfred the Great. The Danes, who had hitherto been content with plunder, now sought to effect a permanent settlement in Britain. The attack that was designed to accomplish this purpose succeeded in reducing Northumbria and East Anglia. Then the Danes, with their united forces, fell upon Wessex itself. At the request of his brother Æthelred, Alfred took part in the resultant battles, and greatly distinguished himself in them. This was especially the case at Ashdown, where the Danes were routed with considerable loss.

The death of Æthelred occurring about this time, Alfred was unanimously elected to the Crown, in 871, when he was in the twenty-second year of his age. Soon after his accession he was called upon to encounter the foe at Wilton. The battle was waged on either side with desperate valour, but, after much uncertainty, victory sided with the foe. The struggle had, however, entered on that phase when it had become to both combatants a wearisome business. The fortunes of battles were mostly with the Danes, but, on the other hand, the severity of

their losses transformed the glory of their victory into the likeness of defeat. Under these conditions the minds of both the combatants inclined towards securing permanent peace, and this being concluded, the Danes withdrew to London.

The leisure gained by the signing of peace, Alfred employed in organising his navy. "The sea was swarming with pirates, and their descents on the coasts kept the country in a state of perpetual alarm." Alfred determined to crush this horde of monsters, and having engaged them in a naval battle, he gained over seven of these Danish rovers a signal victory in the year 875. This is the first naval battle recorded as having been won by Englishmen. After it the fleet was brought into a higher state of efficiency; and it may be said that at this period, the foundation of English maritime greatness was laid.

Alfred gave every encouragement to commerce, and took a keen delight in geographical discoveries. Accounts of two voyages, by one Ohthere, round the North Cape into the White Sea, and of Wulfstan to the Baltic, have come down to us from the pen of Alfred himself; and it is to him we are indebted for the best and most reliable account of Germany as it was in the ninth century.

The position occupied by English shipping in the Norman and Plantagenet reigns may be found reflected in the increased intercommunication between England and the Continent; and in the growing influence of the commercial classes of trading towns. Edward III.—whose fondness for the sea was no less conspicuous than his military valour—by commanding naval engagements in person, by obtaining possession of Calais, and by exercising control over neighbouring seas, made the time propitious for developing Commerce.

At this time (1353) the Mariner's Compass, which, in a crude and incomplete form, had been introduced from China two centuries before, was improved, and brought into general use. Another century, however, was to elapse before its full merit as a guide on the high seas could be appreciated.

According to a writer of the fifteenth century (1436), the condition of British trade, at that epoch, depended first on our political relations with the Continent; and then, on the ability of the Sovereign to keep "the narrow seas against the depredations of pirates." At this time also we begin to hear of merchants forming themselves into organisations for foreign trade, and of disputes between trade firms. These organisations were known by such titles as the following: "Merchants of the Staples" (a company dealing in the staples of the realm, which were exported to Calais); "Merchant Adventurers," who traded chiefly in woollen goods, and to any port where an entrance could be found; "Merchants of the House," who made London the sphere of their operation.

But the great force by which English trade was soon after this time revolutionised, was the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. Although commanding the services of such distinguished navigators as Raleigh, Drake, and others, England was the last of the trading sea-powers of that time to enter on the heritage of this important discovery.

Not only was this the case in the West, but in the East also, where the route opened by Vasco da Gama presented great advantages. England has, in fact, inherited a large portion of the Empires which were founded respectively by Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France.

The beginning of her acquisitions we find towards the end of the sixteenth century. Queen Elizabeth's parsimony, and the inability of private traders to act individually in undertakings of great magnitude, are the reasons assigned for the delay. But the difficulties were eventually overcome by merchants forming themselves into Companies. Among these Companies, were the "African Company;" the "Levant Company," which was formed in 1581, and had factories at Smyrna; the "East-land Company," which traded to the Baltic, had factories in Prussia, and was established in 1579; the "Hudson Bay Company;" but this was much more re-

cently formed than the others, being established in 1670; and the "Merchant Adventurers' Company." The most important of all these Companies was the "East India Company," which was founded in 1600. All the Companies thus formed did not succeed; some indeed, as for example the "African Company," altogether failed. In these associations the merchants agreed to observe certain specific rules, "so as not to spoil the market for one another, but develope the trade, in which all were interested, in a manner which should be advantageous to all."

Some of the Companies were organised on the "joint stock" principle, with a membership strictly limited, and they had a monopoly of the trade within their spheres of operation. The majority, however, were *regulated*, and membership in them was open to any British subject who chose to subscribe. The Regulated Companies were naturally hostile to the Joint Stock Companies; and the "Levant," and "Merchant Adventurers'" Companies led a vigorous attack upon the "East India Company," on the ground of its monopolising policy, which, as it was contended, harassed and injured the trade of other merchants.

This was the period of trade-legislation; and so we find Parliament hedging in on every side, both industry and commerce, with legislative enactments. With such an example before them, it is not surprising that merchants should be found following in the wake of Parliament, by affixing similar bonds of their own. One of these sets of rules "was directed at regulating the total export of certain classes of goods to the chief Continental ports, so that the markets abroad might not be overstocked, and consequently be always able to give remunerative prices. Other regulations allotted the proportion of goods which each member of the company should import, and the terms as to credit, &c., on which he should deal. Each factory was carefully regulated so as to secure a respectable and orderly life for the merchants who resided

abroad. None of them were to do business during the time of public preaching, or on fast days. And there was a curious administrative system, by which the compliance of the members with those regulations was enforced."

These Companies are the explanation of that expansion of English trade that was already taking place; and as shipping is the reflex action of trade, as trade is of industry, with the increase of trade we see also the increase of ships. At this era the differentiation between English naval and mercantile marine was not complete. Not that there were no ships specially prepared and set apart for defence, but a protecting fleet, as such, had not, in the fifteenth century, been organised. "It is very probable," says one author, "that until merchants engaged in the Mediterranean trade, and the attention of the Government was turned, in the reign of Henry VIII., about 1496, to imitate Portugal in making foreign discoveries, under the skilful seaman Sebastian Cabot, very little was added to the capacity or power of British ships of war."

In Henry's reign a ship was built, which was called the *Great Harry*. It was the first on record that really deserved the name of a war-ship. In consequence of this incompleteness of our military marine, national defence had to be undertaken by merchantmen; and this was the case as late as the reign of Elizabeth. The fleet that harassed the Spanish Armada was made up very largely of merchant ships.

But when we come to the naval wars with Holland, in the seventeenth century, we find that the navy had been effectively organised. It was thought, however, that the maintenance of an effective navy required a good mercantile marine, and so an inter-connection between the two services was kept up, while the legislative eye was on the alert for the means of promoting the Merchant Service.

The attention paid to shipping was one of the elements in the growth and prosperity of British fisheries. The consumption of fish was encouraged by insisting on the observance of Lent, and the weekly fasts, Wednesdays

and Fridays. "This was done principally as a means of inducing men to take to the seafaring life, and so to fit themselves for the defence of the country, and for the manning of our merchant ships." Obviously, there was more of policy than piety in these pious observances.

Both in the art of building, and in the art of sailing ships, considerable progress was now made. The ships composing the fleet of the Crusaders were for the most part galleys, with heavy prows, suited for hand-to-hand combat, and provided with a double row of oars. But the invention of gunpowder had introduced cannon into naval warfare, so that vessels of different construction became a necessity. In addition to the changes in design efforts were made, in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles I., to increase the size of the ships that were built. We are told that, in 1597, the largest vessel turned out of the English ship-building yard was eight hundred tons.

Reference has been made to the restrictions imposed by the mother-country on her Colonies and Dependencies, and it is therefore only fair to add, that the wars in which England was embroiled, or in which she was likely to be embroiled, were almost exclusively financed by herself alone. Hence, as neither Ireland, nor the American Colonies, bore any appreciable part of the burden, nor thereby contributed to the maintenance of her power, English statesmen contended, and supported their contention by legislation, that those Dependencies or Colonies should not be allowed to compete with the mother-country in commodities which she produces, either in her home, or in foreign markets. While, therefore, industries such as the linen trade of Ireland, which did not enter into competition with English goods, were given full scope for their trade, *competing* goods were smothered under "galling restrictions." This policy of course told heavily against the trade both of Ireland and the Colonies, and to the same extent it told also against the shipping interests. As far back as 1650 an Act was passed—this was not the first instance of its kind, however—with a

view to restricting the shipping trade of the Dutch—who then had the whole of the carrying trade in their hands—in favour of English shipping. “It prohibited all ships of foreign nations from trading with any English plantation without a licence from the Council of State.” “In 1657 the prohibition was extended to the mother-country, and no goods were suffered to be imported into England, or any of its Dependencies, in any other than English bottoms, or in ships of that European nation of which the merchandise was the genuine growth or manufacture.” At the Restoration the enactments were repeated and continued by the Navigation Act (12 Charles II., chap. 18), with the further addition, that the master and three-fourths of the mariners should also be British subjects. The object of this Act was to encourage British shipping, and it was for a long time believed to be both wise and salutary. Adam Smith, however, perceived that the Act was not favourable to foreign commerce, or to opulence; and it was only on the ground that defence was more important than opulence, that he regarded it as perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England.

In 1828 the statute, 4 Geo. IV. chap. 41, repealed the Navigation Act, and established a new system of regulations, which were further varied by subsequent statutes, until, under the influence of the Free Trade doctrines, new statutes were passed, which reversed the ancient policy. It was not, however, until 1854, that English ports were thrown open to foreign vessels. Notwithstanding the limitations which such restrictions had put upon trade, shipping had, in the eighteenth century, reached large proportions. The increase was due to several causes, one of them being the great facility for getting Capital. Owing to the strong views held in Mediæval times on the subject of usury, which prevailed during some later generations, loans for speculative ventures were procurable only through such channels as “temporary partnerships” or bottomry.

The practice of trading on borrowed capital, and obtain-



ing temporary loans from goldsmiths, was common all through the seventeenth century ; but the development of the Banking system, and of the new forms of credit which then became available, gave great opportunities to the enterprising shipper. The full effects, however, of this new credit system was only shown in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the rivalry of the Old and New East India Companies, and the story of the "Darien Expedition," and of the "South Sea Bubble," proved how willing the British public were to pour their capital into trading undertakings.

Among the Companies of this period, there were two that exercised a most powerful influence on British shipping ; they were the "Royal Exchange Assurance," and the "London Assurance." By the relief they offered shippers, who, in case of losses, were to be indemnified, these Companies greatly encouraged the shipping business.

The plantations were developing into important settlements ; the British merchant had outdone his Dutch rival ; and in the East, the East India Company was pursuing its course of progress. There can be no wonder, then, that with so many opportunities for trading, and such new facilities for obtaining capital, and insuring against risk, there should have been an enormous development in the shipping of the country during the eighteenth century.

But in the very midst of its prosperity, British shipping received two severe shocks. One was the revolt of the North American Colonies ; and the other was the law of proscription promulgated against British trade by the Napoleonic decrees.

Anything that is aimed at the injury of British trade, is aimed at the life and integrity of the British Empire. When we hear, therefore, that there exists against British trade a combination, we can but conclude that such a combination, if it really exists, must aim at the very life of the British Empire. But we are told, that "we must all recognise that for some time past there has been a combined assault by the nations of the world upon the commercial supre-

macy of this country. . . . If that assault were successful, our existence would be menaced in a way in which it never has been threatened since the time, at the beginning of this century, when the Great Napoleon attempted to lay an interdict upon British trade . . .” “We are liable to be confronted with such a combination at any moment, of great Powers, so powerful that not even the most extreme, the most hot-headed politician would be able to contemplate it without a certain sense of uneasiness. . . .” “We may have in future to contend with Russia in China, as we have had already to count with Russia in Afghanistan.” It may be advisable, therefore, to consider next the character and growth of the Russian Empire.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CHARACTER AND GROWTH OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

THE Russian Empire is a vast tract of country, estimated as 8,600,000 square miles, and covering one-sixth of the entire globe. This enormous country is almost wholly within the frigid and the temperate zones. "In Nova Zembla and the Taimry peninsula, it projects within the Arctic Circle as far as  $77^{\circ} 2'$  and  $77^{\circ} 40'$  N. latitude ; while its southern extremities reach  $38^{\circ} 50'$  in Armenia ; about  $35^{\circ}$  on the Afghan frontier ; and  $42^{\circ} 30'$  on the coast of the Pacific. To the west it advances as far as  $20^{\circ} 40'$  E. longitude in Lapland ;  $18^{\circ} 32'$  in Poland ; and  $29^{\circ} 42'$  on the Black Sea ; and its eastern limit—East Cape in the Behring Straits—extends to  $191^{\circ}$  E. longitude." Russia is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, which comprises the White, Barents, and Kara Seas. North and east by the seas of Behring, Okhotsk, and Japan. North-west by the Baltic and its two fissures, the Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland, besides the frontier lines separating it from Norway and Sweden. On the west it is enclosed by Prussia, Austria, and Roumania. The southern boundary in Europe, and in Asia, is a shifting bar, dependent on the caprice of political currents, tides, and winds. Until recently the southern boundary began where the Russian and Chinese Empires meet on the

borders of East Turkestan, Mongolia, and Manchuria. In the general acceptation of the term, Russia has no Colonies, her islands, such as the Aland Archipelago, Hochland, Tüsters, Ösel in the Baltic, Nova Zembla, and others in the Barents Sea, &c., are mere geographical cyphers. With Alaska, the Aleutian Archipelago was sold to the United States in 1867, and in 1874 the Kurile Islands were ceded to Japan.

Taking a comprehensive view, the territory comprising the Russian Empire appears to lie north-west of the great backbone of Asia—the great plateau belt of the old continent—which springing from the uplands of Thibet and Pamir, and diminishing in height and width, merges in the lower plateaux of Mongolia, to continue its course east and northward through Vitim, till it passes to the farthest extremity of Asia. Including those parallel chains and hilly spurs in the north-west, which are prolongations of the plateau, the Russian territory may be described as consisting of immense plains and lowlands, enclosed by this plateau-wall, which crosses it at Lake Baikal on the one hand, and by the Arctic Ocean on the other. By its unsuitableness both for agriculture and for settlement, together with the fact that its oceanic division was from remote times densely populated, the plateau-belt had for a long time imposed a barrier on Russian colonisation in its progress towards the Pacific. Not till the seventeenth century was its narrowest and northernmost part crossed by the Russians, who then reached the Pacific on the frozen and inhospitable coast of Okhotsk ; and it was only after two centuries had passed that, having colonised the depression of the plateau around Lake Baikal, they crossed over the plateau, descended to the Pacific by the Amur, and, pressed further south, up the partially inhabited Usuri to what has since been known as the “Gulf of Peter the Great.” In the south-west, in portions of the plateau-belt, the Empire holds the Pamir, while within the present century it has firmly entrenched itself on the plateau of Armenia.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOIL OF RUSSIA.

A great part of the soil of Russia is barren and unproductive. Twenty-seven per cent. of the aggregate surface of European Russia is said—excluding Poland and Finland—to be occupied by lakes, marshes, sands, &c. ; 38 per cent. is forest ; 14 per cent. is prairie ; and only 21 per cent. is under cultivation. Of these divisions of the soil that which is covered with *black* earth is the most profitable. Stretching from the Carpathians to the Urals, and also to the Pinsk marshes, and the upper Oka, in the north, it comprises about 150,000,000 acres. This stretch of land is overlaid with a thick layer of black earth, which is so remarkable for fertility, that, by what is known as “the three-fields system,” it has produced corn fifty to seventy years consecutively without manure.

Marshes are formed through the resistance offered to percolation by the compact clay in the regions where the clay exists. Towards the latitudes of the Arctic coasts, forests disappear in favour of tundras.

## THE CLIMATE OF RUSSIA.

Although Russia passes through 27 degrees of latitude, yet—omitting the Crimea and Caucasus—there is a striking uniformity in its climate. Such a uniformity is to be accounted for, perhaps, by the freedom with which the cyclones, anti-cyclones, and the dry south-east winds, circulate over the surface of the country. By reason of the same uniformity, the winter over its whole surface is cold, and the summer is dry—both seasons vary in duration, but differ little in the extremes of temperature that are recorded. With the exception of Archangel and Astrakhan, there is no place in Russia where the thermometer does not rise in summer to nearly 86° Fahr., and descend in winter to —13° and —22°.

## THE SEAPORTS OF RUSSIA.

Until the seventeenth century the Russian seaboard

was confined to the Arctic Ocean, but, by means of the sword, she has since cleaved her way to the Baltic and to the Black Sea. The entrance to the Black Sea being, however, held by a Foreign Power, it was little more than an inland sea. The deep indentation made by the Arctic Ocean—the White Sea—would, by its gulfs, Kandalaksha, Onega, Dwina, and Archangel, have afforded excellent anchorages had it not been that the first three of these ports are for nine months in the year ice-bound. The Gulf of Archangel has lost its former importance.

Further east Tchesskaya and Pitchora Bays are surrounded by frozen deserts. The Kara Sea, between the island of Nova Zembla and the Siberian coast, is navigable for only a few weeks in the year. The islands of Kolgueff, Vaigatch, Nova Zembla, and also the islands of Siberia are uninhabited. The Behring Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and their shores, are, although good as fishing and hunting grounds, most inhospitable.

The same description applies to that portion of the Japanese Sea which belongs to Russia. Its only great gulf, Vladivostok, or the Gulf of Peter the Great—one of the finest roadsteads in the world—is cut off from the interior by marshes and forests. The Baltic Sea, with the Gulfs of Finland, Bothnia, and Riga, is the chief sea of Russia, but it is separated from purely Russian soil, its coast being peopled by the Finns, Letts, Esthonians, and Germans. Of the five principal Russian ports, four, viz., St. Petersburg, Reval, Libau, and Riga, are situated on the Baltic. But of these four ports, three are frozen from four to five months every year; Libau being the only one whose roadstead is open nearly all the year round.

Descending south to the Black Sea, we notice that it increases in importance every year. The fertile steppes of its littoral are being rapidly settled, as the centre of gravity of Russia's population is steadily shifting towards the south. There is one disability associated with the Black Sea. It is its lack of good ports. The Sea of Azoff, its gulf, is very shallow; the Crimean ports are too far from

the mainland; and chains of mountains separate the seaboard of Northern Caucasia from the interior. Odessa is its chief port, and, with the exception of St. Petersburg, it is without a rival in Russia. Nikolaieff is the principal naval arsenal, while Savastopol remains a naval station. Batoum, the most prominent of the trans-Caspian ports, is important as the centre for the export of petroleum. The Caspian Sea, into which the chief river of European Russia, the Volga, flows, is the centre of communication between the trade of Asiatic Russia, the Caucasus, and Persia. It is, however, without an oceanic outlet, and there is no reasonable probability of its being connected with the Black Sea by means of a canal, as it lies some seventy feet below the ocean level. The fisheries of the Caspian supply Russia with a considerable quantity of fish. It will be noticed that practically Russia is without a really efficient port.

#### THE POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

Russia is a conglomerate of divers nationalities : Russians—including Great Russians, Little Russians, and White Russians—Poles, Jews, Servians, Bulgarians, Letts, &c. The Russians, who are the dominant race, and who include the three sections whose names have already been given, number 77,000,000, of whom 70,000,000 inhabit European Russia. The Great Russians are found occupying “a region enclosed by a line drawn from the White Sea to the sources of the Western Dwina, the Dnieper, and the Donetz, and thence through the mouth of the Sura, by the Vettuga to Menzeñ. They are mixed towards the east with the Turco-Finns, but in the Ural Mountains they again appear in a compact mass, extending through Southern Siberia, and along the course of the Lena and Amur. The Little Russians are found in the steppes of Southern Russia, in the central plateau towards the south-west, and in the slopes of the Carpathian and Lubin Mountains.”

“The Sitch of the Zaporog Cossacks colonised the Steppes farthest east towards the Don, where they met

with a large population of Great Russian runaways, constituting the present Don Cossacks. The Zaporog Cossacks, sent by Elizabeth II. to colonise the east coast of the Sea of Azoff, constituted there the Black Sea, and later the Kuban, Cossacks."

The White Russians being somewhat mixed with the Great and Little Russians, the Poles and the Lithuanians are found occupying the western slope of the central plateau. "The Finnish stems, which in prehistoric times extended from the Obi all over Northern Russia, even then were sub-divided into Ugrians, Permians, Bulgarians, and Finns proper, who drove back the Lapp population from what is now Finland."

The Turco-Tartars, who in European Russia amount to some 3,600,000 souls, are made up of several sub-divisions. The Mongolian, consisting of two branches, the Laman and the Kalmuks, inhabited the Steppes of the Astrakhan, between the Volga, the Don, and the Kuma. In the seventeenth century they emigrated from Dzungaria to the mouth of the Volga; they then drove out the Tartars, and Nogais, and, after many wars with Don Cossacks, treaties of peace and of mutual assistance were concluded between them. For the most part they were nomads, supporting themselves by means of cattle-breeding and agriculture.

The Semitic race in Russia in 1886 numbered 3,000,000 Jews, and 3,000 Karaites. Their settlements commenced at the time of the Crusades, and were then confined to Germany and Poland, but were extended soon after to Lithuania, Courland, and the Ukraine. By the eighteenth century they had reached Bessarabia. The rapidity with which they peopled certain towns, and even provinces, was truly marvellous. For example, whilst for some eighty years previously there were only a few score of Jews in Odessa, in 1886 they formed a third of the population; that is to say, out of a population of 207,000, 73,000 were Jews. Although they are prohibited by law from settling in Great Russia—that privilege being confined to such of



them as are wealthy and educated—they nevertheless are met with, almost everywhere, including even the Ural districts. Their pursuits are various. In the villages they are chiefly inn-keepers, middle-men, and pawnbrokers. In the towns they largely represent skilled and unskilled labour. By a very efficient organisation among themselves, for mutual help and protection, they usually succeed in gaining control of the trade of the community. The Karaites, both in worship and in their general mode of life, differ from the Jews. They too engage in trade, and are also successful as agriculturists.

Of the Western Europeans, the Germans alone reach any numerical importance. There are upwards of a million resident in European Russia, and their emigration into Russia began as early as the sixteenth century.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

The narrow limits within which the Russian Government has confined the movements of Education, have made its progress slow, and its gait unsteady. There are in the Empire some nine universities—including those of Warsaw and Helsingfors—with a teaching staff of 923 professors, and a relatively high standard. There are some 16,322 students in all, and these, although very poor, being mostly the sons of peasants, are industrious and intelligent. According to the measures taken in relation to these Institutions in 1885, “explicit regulations for the interpretation of science have been issued, and regulations have been laid upon the teaching of philosophy and natural science generally; comparative legislation has been excluded from the programmes; teaching in Russian—instead of German—has been ordered at Dorpat. The students are placed under rigorous regulations in regard to their life outside the University.”

The education of women, however, stands higher in Russia than in many European countries. This advance has been brought about by the women themselves; by

1886 they had succeeded in founding four University Colleges for ladies, with a roll of 1,442 students. There was one Academy with five hundred students; and there were many intermediary schools between the Gymnasiums and the Universities.

Although they were maintained by private subscriptions, all these High Schools were closed, in 1886, by Alexander III., but in 1890 two Colleges re-opened. On the list of medical practitioners there are no less than 695 lady doctors, of whom nearly one-half find employment in the Civil Service, chiefly through the Zemstvos, or district and provincial assemblies.

#### DIVERSITY OF RELIGION IN RUSSIA.

Many varieties of Christianity are found in European Russia, and also Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Shamanism, Hebraism, &c. The varieties correspond for the most part to the different ethnic sub-divisions. All Russians, with the exception of a number of White Russians (who belong to the Union) profess either the Greek Orthodox Faith, or one of the numberless varieties of Nonconformity. The Poles, and most of the Lithuanians, are Roman Catholics. The Esthonians, and all other Western Finns, the Germans, and the Swedes, are Protestants. The Tartars, the Bashkiers, and Kirghizes, are Mohammedans; but the last-named race has to a great extent maintained along with Mohammedanism the old Shamanism. The same holds good of the Mescheryaks, who nominally are both Moslems and Christians. The Mordvinians are nearly all Greek Orthodox; as are also the Votiaks, Voguls, Tcheremisses, and Tchuvashes, but their religions are, in reality, very interesting modifications of Shamanism, under the influence of some Christian and Moslem beliefs. The Voguls, though baptized, are in fact fetish worshippers as truly as unconverted Samoyedes. Finally the Kalmuks are Buddhists and Lamaïtes.

All these religions are met with in close proximity to one another, and the different places of worship often

stand side by side in the same town or village, without giving rise to any religious disturbances. It is said that the last outbreak against the Jews was directed, not against the Talmudist creed, but against the trading and exploiting community of the Kahal. While nominally the Tsar is the head of the Orthodox Church, in reality that body is governed by a Synod.

The population of Russia increases with extraordinary rapidity. This fact is believed to be due to the early age at which marriages are contracted among the peasant classes, of whom the male portion marry at eighteen and the female at sixteen. The death-rate for children is very high. Two-fifths of the children born die before they reach the age of five; but so much is the birth-rate higher than the death-rate throughout the Empire, that there is said to be a surplus annually of births over deaths of between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000.

In the twelve central governments the peasants, on the average, have their own rye-bread for only 200 days per year, and often for only 180 and even 100 days. One quarter of them have received allotments of only 2·9 acres per male; and one half not more than 8·5 to 11·4 acres. The normal size of the allotment necessary to the subsistence of a family, under the three-field system, is estimated at twenty-eight to forty-two acres. Land must be thus rented from the landlords at fabulous prices. The average redemption is about 8·56 roubles (about 17s.) for such allotments, and the smaller the allotment the heavier the payment, its first "dessiatina" (2·86 acres) costing twice as much as the second, and four times as much as the third. In all these districts the State Commission testified that there are whole regions in which one-third of the peasants have received allotments of only 2·9 to 5·8 acres. The aggregate value of the redemption land-taxes often reaches from 185 to 275 per cent. of the normal rental value of the allotments, not to speak of taxes for recruiting purposes, for the Church, roads, local administration, and so on, and these

are chiefly levied from peasants. The arrears increase every year; one-fifth of the inhabitants have in consequence suddenly left their houses. Every year more than half the adult males—in some districts three-fourths of the men and one-third of the women—leave their homes and wander throughout Russia in search of work.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF PEASANT LIFE.

“The maintenance of the very same North Russian type of peasant from Novgorod to the Pacific, with but minor differences on the outskirts, and this notwithstanding the great variety of races with which the Russian came in contact, cannot but strike the observer. A closer attention to what is even now going on in the recently colonised border countries of the Empire, will give the key to this peculiarity of Russian peasant life. Whole villages of people live, and will continue to live, without mixing with the native races, even by intermarriage. There is colonisation on an immense scale, and assimilation of foreigners without the native races losing their ethnic individuality.” It is not the same, however, with the national customs. “There are features which are jealously preserved, *e.g.*, the wooden house, the oven, the bath, which the Russians never abandon even though lost amidst alien populations. But when settled among the native races, the North Russian readily adapts himself to many other differences. He speaks Finnish with the Finns, Mongolian with the Buriats, Ostiak with the Ostiaks. He shows remarkable facility in adapting his agricultural practices to new conditions, without, however, abandoning the village community. He becomes hunter, cattle-breeder, or fisherman; and carries on these occupations according to local usage. He modifies his dress, and adapts his religious beliefs to the locality he inhabits. In consequence of all this the Russian peasant—not, be it noted, the trader—must be recognised as the best coloniser among the Aryans; he lives on the best terms

with Ostiaks, Tartars, Buriats, and even with Red Indians, when he is lost in the prairies of the American Far West."

#### THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

The Slavs were not the original inhabitants of Russia. In the early centuries of the Christian Era their seats were on the Danube and the Elbe, and on the southern shore of the Baltic. They afterwards entered from the west what is now called Russia. The date of this migration is unknown, but it is certain that in the ninth century they had settlements in what is now called Poland, as well as in the territory between the lakes Peipus and Ilmene, and the mouth of the Dniester. Finland was settled by various tribes of Finns; the territory between the Dwina and Vistula by the Lithuanians; while several Turco-Finnish tribes—chiefly nomads—dwelt on the southern slopes of the central plateau. At this early period the Slavs were agriculturists. "Like all primitive inhabitants of Europe, they were organised in 'gentes,' the family once having been matriarchal. The land was held in common by each clan and tribe, and the common affairs were decided at folkmites, or assemblies of the clan, the tribe, or the 'land.' Cæsar and Tacitus found the same organisation among the ancient Germans."

For their civil as well as national safety, it appears as though the Slavs, from the earliest times, were accustomed to call in outside aid. This is borne out by the chronicles of Nector—which are believed to have been compiled from the still older chronicles and special traditions of the monk Sylvester—whence we learn that the folkmites of the northern Slavs, after paying tribute to the Varangians, and sending them away in 859, summoned them again, in 862, "from beyond the sea," to command and judge them according to law. The Varangian rulers are believed, by such authorities as Professors Kostomaroff and Solovieff, to have been simply military chiefs, to whom the defence and general

order of the cities were entrusted. Thus the three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, Truvor, who, according to tradition, were thus invited, settled respectively in Ladoga, Ryelozersk, and Izborsk—on the borders of a territory that had to be defended against the Finns and Lithuanians. These rulers and their successors built new forts, took part in wars, and according to Nector, Oleg, Rurik's brother, exercised authority over Kieff and Smolensk; he and Igor, Rurik's other brother, made campaigns also against Constantinople. Olga, Oleg's widow who ruled after his death, was baptized in the great capital of the East. The times of the "Sunny Vladimir" (980-1015) are the heroic epoch of early Russian history; and the feats and feasts of Vladimir and his drujina (war companions), have been handed down through the ages in legend and song; while his conversion to Christianity made him the hero in the annals that were written by Monks. He and his drujina were baptized at Kieff in 988, and the people of Kieff soon followed his example. Kieff, in the first half of the eleventh century, was the most flourishing of the Russian cities, being the main artery of a voluminous trade. It was even—according to Adam and Bremen—the rival of Constantinople.

Besides many other churches, the great Cathedral of St. Sophia was built at this time. Schools were also opened, and the first written law in Russian was compiled. The counterpart of the next two centuries of Russian history is the feudal period of Western Europe; and their chronicle is a record of intestinal wars between the descendants of Yaroslav, the wise, grand prince of Kieff, in the early part of the eleventh century, for the right to rule in this or that city, or for the supremacy of Kieff.

At this time the Russians were extending their territories towards the east. Oka, the Don, and the Finnish region in the north-east were colonised. The numerous territorial units thus coming into being—except by the bonds of language and the idea that no prince must rule over Russian territory unless he be a descendant of Yaroslav

—were incoherent and detached particles. The fortified towns received the refugees from all the territory. Thither in times of danger the inhabitants fled for safety. The folkmote of each town was supreme. In its hands were the declaration of war or the conclusion of peace ; from it the invitation to a prince to defend the community emanated ; and to it the invited prince made the declaration, after signing the covenant, that he would rule according to law. Such a prince was bound always to keep a band of warriors (*drujina*) to protect the territory, and to that end he was entitled to levy tribute, and to appropriate judicial fines. Disputes among citizens were adjudicated by twelve jurors, six being for the plaintiff and six for the defendant. The prince or his deputy gave judgment, and became responsible for the collecting of fines with respect to cases tried before the prince's court, instead of before the folkmote.

The fortifications of the cities were provided for mostly out of the wealth that was treasured up in the Cathedral Church, which really served the purpose of the city exchequer. Trade was not conducted on behalf of *individuals*, but on behalf of *cities*. In the larger cities, such as Novgorod and Pskov, the Guilds of merchants were accustomed, at first, to trade for the benefit of the city. Mercantile caravans, boats, parties of young men who traded with the Finns, &c., did no business for the benefit of private individuals, but in the name of their cities. These trade relations led to the conquest of the north-east of Russia by the city of Novgorod, which also founded the principalities of Vyatka, Dwina, and Vologda ; and later on, its men crossed the Urals to trade with Siberia. Kieff being recognised as the oldest of the cities, only those who were the seniors of princely houses could be its rulers. However, this unwritten law was not always observed, and consequently feuds were not infrequent.

Each territory had its chief city, besides other subordinate cities, yet there is no evidence to show that the former, by reason of its superior standing, controlled in

any way the latter. The soil was owned by the freemen, who cultivated it; slavery existed, but the trade was principally confined to prisoners of war. A free man who entered the service of another without a special agreement, and remained therein for more than a year, was considered a sort of slave. Trade at this time was very extensive, and particularly at Kieff, which was the great emporium of trade with Greece and Asia. Novgorod also—which subsequently joined the Hanseatic League, and thereby became connected with Germany and Scandinavia—as well as Pskov, Smolensk, and Polotsk were important centres of commerce.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries Russia was studded over with a number of independent republics. But those miniature States were already in the crucible, and were insensibly yielding to that process by which they would eventually be recast in a regal and centralised mould. Very important was the influence which the Church, by means of its educational system, its monasteries, its nunneries, its asceticism, and its doctrine of submission, wove around those early democratic institutions.

Of the rulers of Kieff during the period between the years 1113–25 Vladimir Monomachus deserves special mention, because of his extraordinary and exceptional influence over his own State, and over the princes of other States, whom he succeeded in uniting to defend their territories against the common foe, Polovtsy. With the death of Vladimir the glory of Kieff may be said to have departed. But the setting of the sun of fame at Kieff in the south-east, was followed by its rising in the north-east, over the gradually colonised basin of Oka, and the upper Volga, of which Suzdal and Rostov were the chief centres. The people of these newer seats differed somewhat widely from their brethren of the south-west. They were not so poetic, and on the whole they were less gifted, but they were a more thrifty and progressive race. A large part of the inhabitants were peasants who had been induced to settle on the land of the boyars (country-



people) who, unaccustomed to the political machinery of the folk-mote, with its traditions of independence, were more amenable than Kieff to a centralised form of government. The prince who inaugurated the era of autocracy was Andrei Bogolubsky, of the city of Suzdal (1157-74). With associates of the Church, this ruler founded the new town of Vladimir on the Klazma, and consecrated it by transporting hither from Kieff an icon of the Virgin which had originally been brought from Constantinople, and which tradition represents to have been painted by St. Luke the Evangelist. Bogolubsky invited many of the boyars of Kieff to settle at Suzdal, and finally dealt a fatal blow to its supremacy, by taking the city, in 1169, plundering and burning it, massacring some of its inhabitants, and carrying away others to be sold into slavery.

Thus the last trace of her former greatness passed away from Kieff. Bogolubsky perished at the hands of his own boyars, but the tide of prosperity continued to rise in Suzdal for the next forty years. Literary, educational, and economic progress, together with territorial aggrandisement, were all contributors to its rise.

At this juncture there arose also, in rivalry of Novgorod, Nijni-Novgorod. But at this time also Russia was laid low by a calamity, from whose effects she did not get release for some centuries. It was the invasion of the Mongols.

Under the pressure of those disintegrating forces that had been at work for some ages in Asia, the inhabitants of the central plateau were moving into the lowlands, and then towards Europe in the west. Yielding to this pressure the Ugrians, who inhabited the Urals, passed over the South Russian Steppes into Hungary, while such tribes as the Polovtsy the Petchenegs, and others were hanging on the skirts of South-west Russia. Caught up in the vortex of this general movement in the very heart of Asia, Genghis Khan, and his nomad host, out of which he had carved a solid confederacy, marched into Europe. They had already subdued Manchuria, part of North

China, Turkestan, and Bokhara, and devastated the encampments of the Polovtsy. The Polovtsy sought the aid of the Russians, and on the Kalka, a tributary of the Don, in 1224, the allied forces met the invaders. The Mongols and Tartars were completely victorious. But they retired, and did not return to Russia until after thirteen years had passed away.

"In 1238 the hordes of Batu-Khan invaded the whole of East and Central Russia. Ryazan, Rostov, Yaroslav, Tver, and Torjok were burned, and only the marshes of Novgorod protected the north-western republic from the same fate. In 1239-40 they ravaged the south-west, destroying Tchernigov, Galitch, and Kieff, and then entered Poland and Hungary. But being checked in Moravia, and at the same time receiving news of the Khan's death, Batu-Khan returned to Asia, and built his palace at Sarai on the lower Volga. To Sarai the Russian princes had to go in order to pay their tribute, and to receive their investiture by kissing the stirrup of the Khan. After the subjugation and ravaging of Russia by the Mongols, the conquerors did not proceed further. The Church remained undisturbed; peasants were left in possession of their lands, and the authority of the princes was untouched, but every prince was required to repair to the Court of the Khan in order to be invested. Through the visits of these Russian princes, the Court became a hot-bed for nourishing intrigues relative to their preferments. Matters were even complicated by the assassination of princes who were unable to buy the support either of the Khan himself, or of his advisers. It was often with Mongol arms and consent that the Russian princes destroyed the autonomy of the surrounding principalities, and thus bound the iron collar of subjection more tightly on their necks. The Khan had farmed the taxes to merchants of the east, but, for the sake of maintaining order, the princes undertook to collect them with the aid of the Tartars. The Courts of many of the Russian princes now wore an oriental dress, indeed the entire country appeared to be recast, and the new

oriental impress was to be seen on every phase of life—literature, art, industry, each bore the brand, and true Russian progress was checked for two whole centuries. The principalities of Kieff and Tchernigov never recovered from the effects of the blow; but their death was the life by which Galitch, in Western Russia, reached that pre-eminence which, amidst the ravages of wars with Hungary and the Tartars, it maintained until the later half of the thirteenth century, when it was taken possession of by Catherine III. of Poland.

About this time Volhynia was joined to Lithuania. The prostrate state of Russia was very favourable to the rise of the latter of these two States, and after a vigorous life of several centuries, during which it had extended its conquests to Livonia, the Russian provinces of White Russia: Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, Lithuania was joined to Poland in 1569. On the north of Lithuania, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, another Power appeared; it was the Livonian Knights Sword-Bearers, who took possession of Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, as well as of some portions of Novgorod and Pskov.

The fourteenth century opened upon five principalities in East Russia; they were respectively Suzdal, Nijni-Novgorod, Ryazan, Tver, and Moscow. These States passed much of their time in the throes of inter-tribal conflicts. At length Moscow, a small village which was fortified by Yuriy Dolgorvuki, in 1147, rose to the supreme command. The growth of the principality of Moscow continued under Vassili I. (1389-1425). This prince had bought from the Khan the right to rule Nijni-Novgorod, and he had conquered Rostov and Murom. Vassili II. (1425-62) although assuming the title of "Great Prince" was only recognised by the other princes as their elder, whom they paid for military protection. The independence of these rulers and their cities was thus maintained, while Moscow itself, after Vassili became blind, was ruled by the *duma* (council) of boyars. It was Ivan III. (1462-1505) who,

during forty years, used every opportunity for destroying the independence of the neighbouring States. Ivan's marriage to a niece of Constantine Palæologus, led to the influx into his country of a large number of Greeks. By them he was imbued with ideas of sovereignty, and led to assume the title of "Ruler of all Russia," adopting at the same time the arms of the Byzantine Empire. Taking advantage of a dispute in Novgorod, between the merchant Oligarchs and the people of the city, Ivan marched against the Republic (1471), and finally defeated and took the city. He then decapitated numbers of the rich boyars, and transported 8,000 Novgorodians into East Russia. The Colonies of Novgorod were also conquered, and in 1495 the Hanseatic market of Novgorod was pillaged, and the goods were taken to Moscow. "Novgorod thus lost its independence and its trade."

The Tartar-Mongol camp was now torn with dissensions: the Russians, therefore, as a preliminary step to independence, refused tribute to the conquerors, and the Khan marched against Moscow with 15,000 men. Both armies met, but besides occupying their respective positions for several months, neither side did anything. Suddenly, and for some occult reason, the Khan withdrew his forces, and this closed the chapter of Mongol rule.

But in the shaking off of the Mongol-Tartar sway the Russians were not released from all their enemies. They were now rid of the Mongol despots, but they were confronted by the implacable Lithuanians, who, as we have mentioned, were afterwards united to Poland. The tiger maddened by hunger crouches in ambush that he may pounce upon his prey; so these Lithuanians, famishing for the carcasses of the inhabitants of Moscow, laid in wait to effect the seizure of their victims. They stood at the gates of Moscow, posted their garrisons in neighbouring towns, and were ever ready to employ the Tartars against the Russians. The outcome was a protracted war, and the result, the surrender of several princes on the upper Oka and Desna to Ivan.

Vassili III. (1505-33), having now come to the throne, pursued his father's policy in the war with the Lithuanians. Smolensk, which had remained in the hands of the foe, he retook. He also annexed Ryazan and Novgorod-Syever'sk. Then, taking advantage of its dissensions, he conquered Pskov, the last principality of the north-west. The son of this Vassili was now proclaimed as Ivan IV. (1533-84), the Great Prince. He was a minor of only three years of age, and his incapacity for personal rule was singularly advantageous to the boyars of Moscow, who desired to revive and consolidate their power. They were not backward in reaping the full benefit of the interregnum. They formed a Council from among themselves, which made, and promulgated, laws in the name of the prince and in their own name. At public receptions they intoxicated the child-ruler with their excessive flatteries, but in private they neglected him, and left him to want even the necessaries of life. In these early years Ivan ruled under the priest Sylvester, and Adashev, an inferior noble.

The States-General was convoked in 1549, and in 1550; the code instituted by Ivan's grandfather was revised, and the affairs of the Church were remodelled by what is known as "the Hundred Articles." Kazan was conquered at this period, and Astrakhan two years after. But whilst these improvements and additions were transpiring without, within the Empire was disintegrating, through the corrosives of Court intrigue and treason. The two powerful advisers of the prince were won over to the side that was hostile to *his* interests, and favourable to those of his cousin. In his time of illness the prince's sufferings were intensified by the unblushing intrigues of these advisers. Andrei Kurbski, a powerful feudal lord, openly espoused the cause of the Lithuanians, while other boyars maintained a secret compact with Poland to place on the throne a prince favourable to its pretension. The exhalations from this pool of corruption, settling on the mind of the prince, produced that deep melancholia which by and by became real mania. Recovering at length from his physical prostration,

Ivan entered upon that wanton persecution which selected no less than 3,470 victims, representing whole families, females as well as males ; 986 of their names were found written in his prayer-book. Ivan IV. was the first autocrat of Russia, and the first to assume the title of Tsar, "the name given in the Russian translation of the Bible to the Kings of Judea, and to the Roman Emperors." At the end of this reign the conquest of Siberia was begun by a band of Cossacks, under the leadership of Yermak ; and trade relations with the English were also established. Ivan, having killed his son and heir in a fit of anger, another son, Feodor (1584-98), succeeded to the throne. This prince was of feeble mind, and during his reign the boyars recovered their ascendancy. Feodor's brother-in-law, Boris Godunoff, was nominated regent, but this appointment stirred up old rivalries and bitter animosities among the different parties.

As an administrator Godunoff was an able man, yet he was disliked both by the boyars and the other classes of the people of Moscow. He tried to remove his unpopularity by passing a law, which ultimately was the door by which serfdom entered Russia. At the time this law was introduced, the peasant was, to a great extent, free, at any rate if he was not in debt. He consequently obtained better conditions for his services ; and he had the right, on St. George's Day, of choosing the master for whom he would work. But Godunoff's law abolished this right of removal, and instead permanently attached the peasant to the soil. In this manner a system that proved to be a cancerous growth for 270 years in the body politic of Russia, had its beginning. In order to secure the throne for himself and his dynasty, Godunoff sent Feodor and his mother into exile, and afterwards caused—so it is believed—Dmitri, a child of seven years of age, and the heir to the throne, to be murdered (1591).

After Feodor's death, the boyars called Godunoff to the throne, but he occupied it for six years only (1598-1605). A young man, supposed to have been a runaway Monk

from one of the monasteries of Moscow, named Grishka Otrepieff, now appeared in Poland as the missing Dmitri. His story found ready credence among the Jesuits, and also among some of the nobility of Poland. The claimant was even entertained by King Sigismund ; and when, with an army of Polish volunteers, he reached the Russian frontier, he was welcomed as the very Dmitri, the son of Ivan IV. The people rallied around the standard of the pretender from every quarter, and he was acknowledged by the mother of the murdered Dmitri as her son. To complete the fulness of his good fortune, Boris Godunoff at this time died. Godunoff was believed to have been murdered, and possibly he was. The way to the Russian throne being now wide open, at the instance of the Russian people, the Pretender ascended it, in 1605.

But the fruition now attained for his cause depended from the first almost wholly upon the manipulative skill of Poland. At his entrance into Poland his cause was a frail seedling, its life almost entirely quenched ; but with the requisite attention, and the gardener's care, the dying plant came from the Polish conservatory of prestige and intrigue as a vigorous young tree. With such antecedents the result was inevitable. The wires regulating the conduct and policy of the new Tsar were pulled, not by Russian hands, nor in Russia, but by Polish hands, and in Poland, and as Russia and Poland had not very much in common, the scheme would not work at all. A revolt was made the way out of the difficulty. It was led by Prince Vassili Shonisky, in 1606. The impostor Tsar was murdered, and Shonisky was proclaimed Tsar.

Russia, however, refused to recognise this new Tsar, and in the disturbed state of the country impostors fell on the country as thick as snow-flakes. Certain of these impostors, from the Don Cossacks, or Free-men, of the Don and Dnieper, invaded Russia, devastating provinces, pillaging towns, robbing and plundering the nobles and the wealthier peasants. The state of commotion into which Russia was thrown by these outbreaks was utilised by the

King of Poland for invading the country ; and, with the consent of the boyars, he had his son proclaimed Tsar of Russia. But, later on, Sigismund took possession of Moscow for himself. A reaction set in, which had its beginning in the cities, and which had the support of the Church. The leader in it was a cattle-dealer of Nijni-Novgorod. He roused his countrymen to march to the deliverance of Moscow. The folk-motes agreed to call out militias, which were united into an army. A general council of all classes in the land was convoked at Yaroslavl. The army, under the leadership of the Princes Pojarsky and Lapunoff, marched upon Moscow, retook it, and drove the Poles out of Russia.

The absorbing subject became now the election of a Tsar. The boyars were in favour of placing a Swedish or Polish prince upon the throne, but this was opposed by the people and the clergy, and so the Sobor, or Council, elected Mikhael Romanoff (1612-45). The boyars finally agreed to the election, thinking, no doubt, that their power would be paramount over a Tsar of the age of sixteen. But the vigilance of the Sobor, which, for the first ten years of the young Tsar's rule, held firmly the reins of government, frustrated their designs.

Mikhael Romanoff belonged to a family of which the ancestors had emigrated in olden times from Prussia, a movement which was at that time a very popular one. "His father, the Rostoff metropolitan Philarete, who had been sent as an envoy to Poland, was imprisoned by the Poles; his uncles had died in prison under Boris Godunoff; and his grandmother, who was the first wife of Ivan IV., had left a very good memory behind her." The violent explosions with which the peasants' revolt had opened, had passed into that latent state which a slight indiscretion might at any time have roused into dangerous activity. Hence the opening years of Romanoff's reign were directed toward reducing this danger, and the endeavour occupied fully its first ten years. The Russians, abandoning Schlüsselburg, obtained peace from Gustavus Adolphus, but with



the exception of a short armistice, the war with Poland was continued. The States-General, which was convoked in 1632, and again in 1642, readily voted subsidies for the war, but no success attended Russian arms until the very existence of the country was imperilled. The revolt of the Cossacks of the Dnieper against the Polish nobles changed the course of this war, which might have had the most momentous effect upon Russia.

Under Alexei (1645-76), son of Mikhael, the work of modelling Russia into a great State was continued. The local administration was entirely reconstructed. But outbreaks again occurred which were aggravated by the action of the States-General. In 1648 they elaborated the law which enforced serfdom. Alexei's reign was chequered by revolts in Moscow, Nijni, Pskov, and finally in south-east Russia, where Stevko Rozin, uniting the runaway serfs and the free Cossacks of the Volga under his standard, made a determined attack against the prevailing order. Landlords were hanged, and Kreml itself was threatened.

There occurred at this time that disruption which sent a cleavage through the Russian Church. The patriarch Nikon was striving to establish in the East a supremacy corresponding to that of the Pope in the West. "Being himself one of the richest serf-owners in Russia, he made a display of extravagant luxury in his life. He surrounded himself with a kind of ecclesiastical court which plundered the lower clergy; he built under Moscow a 'New Jerusalem,' and went in processions preceded by a Latin cross (with one cross-bar only), like the Pope. In short he was considered Latin (*i.e.*, Polish) in all his arrogant behaviour." The attempt of this ecclesiastic to complete the revision of the Sacred Books that had been already undertaken, and into which errors had crept through incomplete copyists, was the signal for the rising that so seriously maimed the National Church. His effort to overshadow the Tsar in importance did not only lead to his own overthrow, but also to the abolition of his office, for which the Holy Synod was substituted by Peter I.

The States-General were frequently convoked by Alexei; its first meeting was to confirm his own accession to the throne (1645). It was convoked in 1648 to revise the existing laws and to compile a new code; and in 1651 and 1653 to deliberate upon the annexation of Little Russia.

Under Alexei the long struggle between Russia and Poland came to an end, to the advantage of the former. The mastery thus gained over Poland by Russia was due mainly to the revolt of the Orthodox Cossacks, under Bogdan Hmelnitsky, against the Poles, whose oppression by their Catholic landlords had provoked the revolt. The struggle of Russia against Poland was succeeded by her struggle to maintain her place on the Dnieper against Turkey. A war was waged between the two Powers, which continued into the next reign (Feodor), terminating in 1681 by the Treaty Bakhtchisarai, in which Turkey gave up all claim to Little Russia.

After Feodor's death (1676-82) the States-General chose his half-brother Peter as Tsar, but Sophia, Peter's half-sister, an able and ambitious woman, succeeded in forcing herself into the throne. She concluded peace with Poland in 1686, and undertook two unsuccessful campaigns against the Tartars of the Crimea. Sophia made an attempt upon the lives of Peter and his mother, and for this action she was compelled to abdicate, and retire to a convent, whilst nearly a thousand of her accomplices were executed. Peter then ascended the throne as sole ruler. Ivan his half-brother, who was without authority, was allowed to take part as Tsar jointly with Peter at public ceremonies.

In addition to the Tsar, we have made mention of the *duma* of boyars, and the Church, as sources of political influence in Russia at this period. But from the time of Ivan IV., and especially from the rebellion season of 1601-12, the functions of these bodies, as political entities, were much circumscribed. This may in part be accounted for by the fact that the Sobor, or States-General, a new fountain of power, had been established, in which all the people, or at least particular classes of them, the military,

merchant, &c., were represented ; but the real cause of the curtailment of the power formerly wielded by the Church and by the boyars, was the centralisation of power in boards of ministers who were under the direct guidance of the Tsar. And with this centralisation, the convocation of the Sobor itself became less frequent. Peter I. destroyed the power of the Church and of the boyars, and only convoked the States-General once, to condemn his sister Sophia. Proclaiming himself Emperor, Peter abolished the office of Patriarch, and substituted for the Duma and Sobor a Senate nominated by himself. By transplanting his capital to St. Petersburg, Peter freed himself from the interference of the Church, the boyars, and the people of Moscow, and made the way easier for the changes which he desired to make.

Surrounded by men of his own fashioning, Peter ruled with absolute power, but class distinctions lived on, and serfdom grew in bitterness, until it reached the condition of absolute slavery. Yet it was in this reign that all Russians, in an equal degree, became subjects of the Empire. With the exception of the military settlements called *Stryeltsy*, in the suburbs of the cities, and the Cossacks, Russia, under Peter's predecessors, had, in the modern sense, maintained no army. The *Stryeltsy*, because of its sympathies with Sophia, was abolished ; and for the same reason the privileges of the Cossacks were abridged. Peter now organised a standing army by a system of recruiting, introduced an extensive secret State police, with power to torture ; and one of the victims of their torture was the unfortunate Alexei, Peter's son. There was also a complete re-organisation of the administrative system.

"The old taxes by household were superseded by capitation taxes, and formidably increased. Written procedure was introduced in the Justices' Courts, stamp duties were imposed. Faith was made a State affair, and attendance at church on Sundays, and Communion once a year, were rendered obligatory." Agriculture was primitive and defective. The education introduced at the stage of

national fusion was still of the elementary type, so that, even among the higher classes, the knowledge imparted by the schools was within the range of reading and writing only. The School for theology and classics appeared in the reign of Feodor ; fine arts were confined to architecture and painting (sacred subjects), after the Byzantine model. The first newspaper, and the first theatre, were introduced into Moscow during the reign of Alexei. Among the higher ranks of the people social intercourse among the sexes was discouraged ; indeed the mildew of Mongol invasion had so devitalised Russia, that traces of the deterioration were apparent on every lineament of the national face. Peter was fully alive to the necessities of the case, and did his utmost to meet them. Besides organising the army, he introduced mining and manufacture, imported improved breeds of cattle, traced out and caused canals to be dug, and these are now of the greatest value ; he opened schools, technical and otherwise, and encouraged more intercourse among the sexes. It must not be forgotten, however, that these well-meant schemes imposed terrible burdens on his subjects. How many thousands upon thousands perished in the building of St. Petersburg and its fortress ; in the digging of canals ; in the great and constant wars ; and in the violent scenes with which he stamped out revolts !

By the terms of Peter's will, the crown after his death passed to his second wife Catherine I. (1725-27). But there was a party which, in opposition to Catherine, was strongly in favour of the son of the unfortunate Alexei—Peter's son, who had indulged in treasonable practices against his father. At the death of Catherine, Alexei's son ascended the throne (1727-30) as Peter II. Besides the intrigues and Court quarrels that filled these two reigns, there is nothing in them worthy of mention. At the death of Peter II., the Privy Council passed over the other descendants of Peter I. and conferred the crown upon Anna, Duchess of Courland, the daughter of Ivan. In her reign (1730-40), the ascendancy of the German party in Russia was very pronounced, and quite as pernicious. They

plundered the country with voracious greed ; and, through their influence, in this reign the Caspian provinces, which Persia had lost, were restored to her by Russia. A most ruinous war was waged against Turkey. Anna was succeeded by Ivan (1740-41), the son of her niece, the Duchess of Brunswick ; but he was soon dethroned by Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter I. (1741-62), by whom the German party was deprived of the power which it had so shamefully usurped, and so recklessly abused. Elizabeth restored to the Senate the power with which Peter I. had endowed it. She abolished tolls ; developed a regular system of recruiting ; increased imports ; took part in the Seven Years' War, and by the Treaty of Abo (1743) gained a portion of Finland. Elizabeth was succeeded by her nephew, who reigned as Peter III. (1762). This prince was an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick the Great of Prussia, and his first act as emperor was to transfer the alliance of Russia in the Seven Years' War, from Austria to Prussia. By this stroke of fortune Prussia, whose resources were reduced to the lowest extremity, escaped annihilation. At home Peter III. effected such reforms as the abolition of prescription—which made it obligatory for each noble to enter the State service ; and the abolition of the secret State police. He proclaimed liberty to the raskolniks, and declared an amnesty to the serfs who were in revolt against their masters. But he was disliked by his people ; and his wife Catherine, from whom he lived apart, found no difficulty in placing herself at the head of the nation, and so bringing about his dethronement. He was afterwards arrested and murdered by Catherine's associates. Catherine took the title of Catherine II. (1762-96). She waged successful wars with Turkey, Persia, Sweden, and Poland, and thereby greatly increased the area of the Empire. The Crimea, through which Russia gained a firm footing on the Black Sea, as well as the first partition of Poland—both acts being regarded as important steps towards the consolidation of the Empire—were secured during Catherine's reign. In domestic affairs, the work of

further centralisation was proceeded with. Eight hundred thousand free peasants were distributed as serfs among Catherine's favourites, serfdom was re-introduced into Little Russia, and the rights of landlords over their serfs was extended. The bonds of this hateful system, thus tightened to the last point of endurance, soon snapped, and a fierce rebellion ensued, when the landlords and officials were mercilessly hanged, and the country scoured and scourged by predatory bands.

Catherine's successor was her son, Paul I. (1792-1801). Apprehensive at first of the revolution in France, Paul threw the weight of his support on the side of Great Britain and Austria against France, but changing suddenly, he was on the eve of declaring war against Great Britain, when assassination acted its tragic part. Paul gave freedom of worship to the old Ritualists, but cruelly reduced free peasants to serfdom in the interests of his friends. He established a rigorous press censorship; prohibited the introduction of foreign publications into Russia; re-organised the secret police, and altogether terrorised his subjects. He was followed by his son, Alexander I. (1801-25). At the outset Alexander contemplated a reign of peace, but soon he was drawn into the whirlpool in which the rest of Europe were struggling against the ambition of France.

Joining the third coalition formed against that country, in 1805, Alexander took his stand by the side of the Allied Powers. In the fourth (1806-7) we find him at his post, but in the fifth he ranged himself on the side of Napoleon. In this new rôle he made strenuous endeavours to prevent the war which was then impending. And at the same time a quarrel with Turkey led to a Russian invasion, followed by the congress of Bucharest in 1812, by which Russia gave up Moldavia and Wallachia, which she had occupied, but retained Bessarabia, with the fortresses of Khotin and Bender.

An estrangement was now growing up between Alexander and Napoleon, having its origin in the Grand-

Duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had created, but especially in the blockade of the Continental ports which he had attempted to establish. This coolness ended in the memorable invasion of Russia by the French in 1812. And so perished the phantasy by which these Imperial despots had promised themselves, and each other, the sovereignty of the entire globe.

On May 9, 1812, Napoleon left Paris for Dresden, the Russian and French ambassadors having received their passports. His grand army consisted of 678,000 men, of whom 356,000 were French. To oppose this terrible host the Russians placed in the field 372,000. Napoleon crossed the Niemen, and by forced marches advanced to Smolensk, where he defeated the Russians. The next was the terrible battle of Borodino, where Napoleon again defeated the Russians. Then he entered Moscow, which had been abandoned by most of its inhabitants, and where a fire broke out soon after that raged for six days, and that destroyed a great part of the city. After spending five long weeks among these ruins, in the futile attempt at negotiating peace, Napoleon had, reluctantly, on October 18th, to begin the perilous return journey. The French on this journey had to contend with hunger, cold, and swarms of Cossacks who preyed on their rear. Their struggles on the banks of the river Beresina, which they crossed November 26th to 29th, form one of the most tragic pages in history. Finally, when the grand army, under the veteran Ney, reached Paris, the 678,000 men had melted down to some 80,000.

In 1814 the Russians, with the allies, invaded France, and lost many men in the assault upon Paris. After the final overthrow and banishment of the scourge and purge of Europe, it fell to Alexander to occupy Champagne and Lorraine. Alexander added to his dominions Finland, Poland, Bessarabia, part of the Caucasus, including Daghestan, Shirvan, Mingrelia, and Imeretia. Much was done in this reign to improve the condition of the serfs. The Raskolniks also were better treated. Education

received considerable attention, and the Universities of Kazan, Kharkoff, and St. Petersburg were founded. One of the prime movers in these reforms was Sparanski. But in the latter part of his reign Alexander betrayed a temper altogether at variance with those liberal ideas which were then so rapidly coming to the front in European politics.

He died in 1825, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nicholas I. At the outset of this reign, the country was once more plunged into the turmoil of rebellion. In the change of rulers the people saw no prospect of their legitimate hopes being fulfilled, and so they rebelled. But the rebellion was soon quelled, and instead of leading to the desired reforms, it resulted in a full stop being imposed on the intellectual progress in Russia. Wars were undertaken against Persia and Turkey, and there was a deadly struggle with the mutineers of the Caucasus. The gleanings of these wars were the cession of Erivan and Nakhilchevan by Persia; of the plain of Kubañ, the protectorate of the Danubian principalities, and of the free right of navigation of the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and the Danube by Turkey. But these spoils served only to whet the conqueror's palate; accordingly, bent upon securing for Russia free egress from the Black Sea in the Dardanelles, in 1830 Nicholas converted Poland into a Russian province, in 1849 he aided Austria in quelling the insurrection of the Magyars; and in 1853 he began a war with Turkey which became the Crimean War, and in which though the allies Britain, France, and Sardinia did not obtain any solid advantage, Russia suffered immense loss.

Alexander II., son of Nicholas, on coming to the throne (1855-81), concluded the Peace of Paris, 1856. By this peace Russia lost the right of navigation on the Danube, a strip of territory on the north bank of that river, and the right to keep a navy in the Black Sea. The reaction of these external changes upon public opinion was like leaven in a mass of dough; they stirred and swelled popular expectation and longing into an impatience that burst open the enclosure wherein arbitrary government



had confined them, and thus the reforms which hitherto existed in unfulfilled pledges became accomplished engagements. The long-looked-for abolition of serfdom was effected in 1861 ; corporal punishment was also abolished ; and in 1866 the judicial system was completely revised. Unhappily the progress of reform was cut short by the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, so that the great measure of self-government that was formulated in 1866 for the provinces, fell very short of the original conception. The insurrection was put down with extreme harshness, and in 1868 when Poland was formally incorporated into the Russian Empire, the last vestige of independence disappeared from that ancient kingdom. The subjugation of the Caucasus was completed in 1859, and Russian supremacy was established over all the States of Turkestan. Compulsory military service was introduced in 1874. The administration of the Baltic Provinces was merged into the Central Government in 1876, but the autonomy of Finland was respected and extended. During the Franco-German war, in 1870, Russia took the opportunity to declare that she considered herself free from her engagement not to keep a fleet in the Black Sea. The declaration was upheld by the Conference of London in 1871.

The general disorder of the Turkish Government manifesting itself in the oppression of its Christian subjects, and in the cruel suppression of the incipient rising of 1876, led to the Conference of European Powers at Constantinople. Turkey was recalcitrant, and Russia, to enforce Turkey's compliance with the proposals of the Powers, declared war against her in April, 1877. Russia's rapid and energetic advance was checked by the vigour of the Turks who, in the resolute defence of Plevna by Osman Pasha, from July to December, stayed her progress for a time. But during the winter she crossed the Balkans, and her vanguard reaching the Sea of Marmora, stood in view of Constantinople. An armistice was signed in January, 1878, followed in March by the Treaty of San Stefano. After diplomacy was baffled with the disposing of the

sediments deposited by the war, which seemed not unlikely to be submitted to the solvent of an Anglo-Russian war, a Congress of the Great Powers, meeting at Berlin in June, 1878, sanctioned the rearrangement of the Ottoman Empire, and the cession to Russia of the part of Bessarabia given to Moldavia in 1856, also the ports of Batoum, of Kars, and of Ardahan.

The outbreak of revolutionary discontent in Russia has been treated with severe measures, which have again reacted in the murder of high personages. Among their victims was Alexander II., who was killed by revolutionists in 1881. Although the reign of Alexander III. was greatly occupied in grappling with the corruption that was draining the State exchequer, and misappropriating State lands, &c., yet in other directions it was reactionary. The self-government of the *Zemstvos* has been limited, and put under the authority of the nobility, the justices of the peace have been abolished, and an attempt at reintroducing national right has been made. The redemption taxes imposed upon liberated serfs were slightly reduced, and banks, for facilitating the purchase of land by the richer peasants, were created. A special bank for simplifying mortgages by the nobles was created by the State. Literature was submitted to the most rigorous censorship, and education to a still closer supervision; public expressions of sympathy with the reforms of the previous reign have been repressed. Strong measures have been taken against the Jews, leading to compulsory and whole-sale immigration; and the autonomy of Finland has been narrowed—the idea of the reign being a return to Nicholas I.'s view of the centralisation of the State. The external policy is that of armed peace.

#### MINERALS FOUND IN RUSSIAN TERRITORY.

Russia is very rich in minerals. Its mining operations, which give employment to nearly 400,000 people, have of late years made very considerable strides. Gold is found

in Siberia and in the Ural Mountains, in quantities varying from 71,000 to 1,702,000 ozs. annually. Silver, 264,000 to 396,000 ozs. Lead is obtained in Siberia, the Kirghiz Steppes, the Caucasus, and Finland. Platinum, 4,840 to 9,460 lbs. is found in the Urals. Iron abounds both in the Asiatic and in the European dominions of Russia, and the production has risen from 448,000 tons in 1880, to 734,000 in 1889. Zinc is found in Poland, tin in Finland, and cobalt and manganese in the Caucasus. Salt is from the salt lakes of Asia and South Russia. Notwithstanding the excellent coal-basins, little coal is worked in Russia, there being immense forests of firewood, and great facilities by its rivers for distributing this article. The total output of coal in Poland and Russia is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. The exceedingly rich oil-wells of Baku furnish Russia both with petroleum and fuel; the latter being largely used on the steamers plying on the Volga, on some of the railways, and in some manufactures. The total output of crude petroleum averages 3,300,000 tons. This branch of industry is heavily handicapped by protective tariffs on the importation of machinery. Yet it has attained a size that gives an average yield of £142 for each workman employed.

#### RUSSIAN INDUSTRIES.

"The 21,247 manufactories in the Empire, in 1887, employed 790,000 workmen, and were assessed at £112,000,000. This estimate does not include the mining industry, nor those, such as sugar, tobacco, spirits, beer, petroleum, and matches, which pay excise duty." The chief industrial centres are Moscow and the surrounding governments, St. Petersburg, and Poland. The woollen industry has its centre in the South, and is taking firm root in the soil. In 1887 there were some 200 sugar-mills, and 400 tallow factories in Russia. The domestic industries are carried on by peasants in conjunction with their agricultural pursuits. It is estimated that no less than

7,500,000 peasants are thus employed, and that the value of their manufactures reach the amount of £180,000,000 per annum. This sum excludes the aggregate value of goods produced by the large manufactories of the Empire. The goods that are so manufactured embrace every kind of product, from the rougher articles such as are used by millions of peasants, to articles of the greatest luxury ; and in this way nearly nine-tenths of the requirements of the population are supplied. This fact, taken in connection with the extreme poverty of the peasant, make it at once obvious that the manufactories of Russia must be dependent for their existence very largely on foreign markets.

#### RUSSIAN COMMERCE.

Fifty-five per cent. of Russian export consists of corn and flour ; other articles, such as butter, eggs, flax, timber, oleaginous substances, raw wool, and naphtha, amount to an annual value of £54,000,000 to £79,000,000. The imports amount in value to £40,000,000. Of this sum £7,000,000 or £10,000,000 are in raw cotton, the other goods being tea, raw metals, machinery, raw wool, colours, iron, steel goods, and coals. Tea and coffee, wines, and fruit, hold an important place among the articles of import, so that the actual value of manufactured goods imported hardly reach £4,500,000. The character of Russian imports has undergone a considerable change of late years ; and whilst such a change arises to some extent from the high protective tariffs existing, it is due mainly to the fact that articles which Russia formerly imported she now produces. This is the case with cotton, sugar, and iron goods. And besides being made at home, the articles so produced do not exceed in price the value of such articles in Western Europe.

#### RUSSIAN NAVIGATION.

“On January 1, 1896, the registered mercantile marine of Russia consisted of 522 steamers, of 205,649 tons net

and 2,135 sailing vessels, of 323,339 tons net ; total, 2,657 vessels, of 528,988 tons. About one-fourth of the vessels were engaged in trading to foreign countries, and the remainder were coasting vessels, many of them belonging to Greeks sailing under the Russian flag. There are 85 steamers in the Baltic Sea, 820 in the Black and Azoff Seas, 181 in the Caspian, and 21 in the White Sea."

The rivers of Russia play a prominent part in the internal communication of the country ; over 1,500 steamers traverse the rivers of European Russia each year, and boats and barges amounting to 67,000, and rafts 90,000, unload at the river ports. Goods transmitted by these means exceed £9,000,000, as against £55,000,000 carried by rail.

#### RUSSIAN RAILWAYS.

In 1860 Russia had less than 1,000 miles of Railway, but in 1891 these had increased to 20,115 miles, out of which 1,166 miles were in Finland, and 890 in the Trans-Caspian region. Exclusive of Finnish and Trans-Caspian lines, these systems of railways have cost £300,000,000 ; of this sum nine-tenths has been supplied by the State. In addition to paying high rate of interest for these loans, the State binds itself to pay to most railway companies 5 per cent. on the capital employed, such capital being often in excess of the real expenditure. In this manner the State pays to railway companies each year sums varying from £700,000 to £1,500,000. Several lines have recently been acquired by the State, and some 40,000,000 passengers travel every year by rail. The freight transported by rail exceeds 55,000,000 tons, and of this the bulk is corn. A great line is now being constructed, and is to extend from the Ural Mountains right across Siberia to the Pacific. The railways available for traffic on September 1, 1897, covered a distance of 26,211 miles, and there was in course of building 7,757 miles.

#### RUSSIAN FINANCE.

Russian finance is in a somewhat precarious condition.

In 1877 the revenue was £58,700,000, and this in 1890 rose to £94,800,000. But the interest and annuities paid on loans had also increased during the same period from £11,400,000 to £26,600,000. The public debt, in January, 1890, was £552,524,000, or almost £5 per head. "On January 1, 1896, it amounted to £2,849,000 sterling, 568,010,500 francs, 4,895,400 thalers, 16,969,000 guilders, 1,431,130,900 roubles gold, and 2,388,687,322 roubles paper."

The taxes of the peasantry are so burdensome, that failure of their crops invariably plunges them hopelessly in arrears.

#### BRIEF SUMMARY.

The work of centralisation and fusion of the detached and independent Russian principalities may be said to have begun when Ivan III., in the fifteenth century (1462-1505), assumed the title of "Ruler of all Russia," and to have reached the first stage of completion in the seventeenth century (1645-76), under Alexei, when, in addition to the mastery of Poland, Russia obtained Little Russia and regained Smolensk, Tchernigov, and finally Kieff from the Poles. The foundation of the Empire being thus laid, in the reign of Peter the Great it was modernised; and then from the time of Catherine II. the work of extension went vigorously forward. Thus, under Catherine (1762-96) as we saw, the Crimea was acquired, a firm footing was gained in the Black Sea, and the first slice was taken from Poland. Nicholas I. (1825-55), from wars made on Persia and Turkey, secured Erwan, Nahitchwan, the plain of Kubañ, the protectorate of Danubian principalities, and free right of navigation in the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and the Danube. Under Alexander II. (1855-81) Poland was incorporated into Russia; the subjugation of the Caucasus was completed; Russian supremacy was established over Turkestan; the Baltic provinces were merged into the Central Government; and a third war undertaken against

Turkey by which a part of Bessarabia, and the ports Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan were gained.

Such is the outline of the formation, capacity, and development of the Russian Empire. In square miles its area is 1,951,361 ; its population is 129,200,000 souls ; its imports are valued at 689,800,000 roubles, and its exports 589,300,000 roubles.

The important facts that need to be emphasised are, that this enormous territory, and this vast population, with its great and growing commerce, until quite recently was without one single really reliable seaport, was without any outlet for its manufactures, and is even without a home market, as the people supply local demands with their own petty manufactures.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ORIGIN OF CHINESE TRADE

"WE shall have in future to contend with Russia in China." It may be well, therefore, to deal with the beginning of the Chinese Trade.

It was not until the passage to the East had been discovered, in 1497, by Vasco da Gama, that intercourse between European nations and China by sea became possible. The Portuguese, who discovered the route, and who were the first among European nations to reap its reward, appeared at Canton in 1516. After an interval they were followed by the Spaniards, then by the Dutch, and then by the English and French, in 1635. Represented by the East India Company, the first attempt of the English to establish a station at Canton was not successful. Other efforts in the same direction in 1668 did not fare better; but in 1670 trade was hopefully begun with Formosa, and a treaty was concluded. Ten years later a factory was established at Canton. The accession of the Mandio, or Tartar, dynasty, 1679, was followed by a hostile policy towards foreign traders, which, doubtless, was in a measure due to the mutual jealousies of the traders themselves, as well as to the eagerness of the dynasty to maintain its own existence. In consequence of this policy trade, which had spread to several parts of the Empire, was restricted to Canton. A further aggravation



arose from the dishonesty of the Hong Kong merchants, and the extortions of the Mandarins. The unsatisfactory situation caused by these events, and varied by quarrels between the East India Company, the French, and the Portuguese, continued down to 1792, when the first British Ambassador, Lord Macartney, was sent to the Court of Peking. He was, however, unable to liberate trade from the disabilities that were injuriously affecting it. Lord Amherst, who was sent out to China in 1816, was dismissed for refusing "Kowtow," or prostration before the Emperor.

When the monopoly of the East India Company expired, in 1834, it was resolved by the British Government that a commissioner should be sent out to superintend the trade at Canton. Lord Napier was selected for the post, but so difficult did the work of dealing with Chinese officials prove, and so inadequately was he supported from home, that the anxieties of his position brought on an attack of fever, to which, after a few days, he succumbed at Macao. The chief complaint that the Mandarins presented was the introduction of the sale of opium by the merchants. And, in order that the danger thus feared might be averted, the Chinese proceeded to stop foreign trade; to demand that the importation of the drug should cease; and to establish vigorous police measures. At length, in 1839, Captain Elliot, the superintendent of trade, agreed that all opium in the hands of Englishmen should be delivered up to the native authorities; and he exacted a pledge from the merchants that they would discontinue to deal any longer in the drug. On April 3rd, 20,283 chests of opium were handed over to the Mandarins, and they were by them destroyed. This act may be taken as indicating the great anxiety of the Chinese authorities to stamp the sale of opium out of China.

#### FIRST CHINESE WAR.

The demand of Commissioner Lin, to which the promise of the merchants, and the surrender of the chests of opium, were a compliance, was regarded by the British Government

as a *casus belli*; and in the following year (1840) war was declared. With the arrival of the fleet from India, the next year operations began. The island of Chausan was speedily taken, and the capital of the Empire was threatened. The Chinese thereupon sued for peace, but negotiation was broken off, and Hong Kong and Amoy fell, and Nanking was menaced. Hostilities were then suspended, and in 1842 a treaty was concluded by Sir Henry Pottinger, in which, among other things, the Chinese agreed to throw open five additional ports to European trade.

#### SECOND CHINESE WAR.

The second Chinese war arose out of the seizure of the *Arrow* (a cutter), 1855, by the Chinese authorities, on the charge of piracy. The craft certainly bore marks of suspicion, but it was contended that she had obtained British registration; consequently Sir John Bowring demanded the release of the men who had been taken with the cutter. This was acceded to, but the Chinese refused to tender an apology. In consequence a bombardment followed; the Taku forts were taken in 1858, and Lord Elgin, as English Commissioner, concluded the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. There are two articles in that treaty which bear directly on the present controversy between this country and Russia, and these may now be quoted.

The first is Article XXIV., which says: "It is agreed that British subjects shall pay on all merchandise imported or exported by them, the duties prescribed by tariff; but in no case shall they be called upon to pay other, or higher, than are required of the subjects of any other foreign nation."

Article LIV. says: "The British Government and its subjects are hereby confirmed in all privileges, immunities, and advantages conferred on them by previous treaties; and it is hereby expressly stipulated, that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages

that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by his Majesty the Emperor of China to the Government or subjects of any other nation."

The first of these two articles, as will be noticed, is a shield against the imposition of discriminative tariffs. The second, which is wider in its scope, gives the British Government the right to receive the same benefits, for itself and its subjects, that may be granted by China to any other government, or to their subjects.

So much then for the validity and latitude of our trade-title with China. The next consideration is the present value of the trade itself. China's trade with the outside world in 1897 amounted to some £51,891,062, and the countries with which this exchange was made were European Russia, Great Britain, Japan, the United States, India, and Hong Kong. The proportion to which each of these countries shared in that exchange was as follows. China exported and imported to and from Great Britain, in 1897, goods to the value of £7,888,954. She exported and imported to and from Hong Kong goods to the value of £22,422,416; India, £3,145,123; Japan, £5,837,829; Europe, £5,130,709; the United States, £4,508,776; Russia, £2,957,253.

As may be readily seen, Great Britain's part in these transactions—with those of her dependencies, India and Hong Kong—amounted to £33,456,494. That is to say, of Chinese trade with the world the British Empire alone absorbs more than one half, or 64 per cent. of the whole. Thus the title gained and preserved by treaties, on behalf of British trade in China, and the predominance of that trade, supply a substantial basis for the announcements or representations made by the Foreign Office concerning recent developments in China.

## CHAPTER IX

### RECENT OFFICIAL CHINESE CORRESPONDENCE

ACCORDING to the representations made in a series of despatches to the Russian and Chinese Governments, by the British Foreign Minister, which were laid before Parliament in April, 1898, three demands were put forth.

I. That the British Government and its subjects should receive from China the same treatment as is given by the Chinese Government to other governments or their subjects. II. That British subjects should not be discriminated against by means of hostile tariffs. III. That the integrity of the Chinese Empire should be preserved.

In November, 1897, the murder of two German missionaries in China was made the subject of the following despatches from her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Peking:—

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, November 17, 1897: "I have it, on good authority, that in consequence of the murder last week of two German missionaries in Shangtung Province, German men-of-war have visited Kiao-chau Bay, and ordered the Commandant to evacuate the place. The Tsung-li-Yamên are in a great state of perturbation, and Li Hung Chang has, I understand, appealed to the Russian Charge d'Affaires, but I am ignorant of the result of this step."

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, November

22, 1898: "Chinese Government have been officially informed, by Baron Von Heyking, that evacuation of Kiao-chau will not take place until the following demands have been granted. (1) The building of an Imperial tablet to the memory of the missionaries who were murdered. (2) The families of the murdered missionaries to be indemnified. (3) The governor of Shangtung to be degraded permanently. (4) The Chinese Government to defray the cost of the German occupation of Kiao-chau. (5) German engineers to have the preference in the building of any railway which China may construct in the Province of Shangtung, and also in the working of any mine which may exist along the track of such railway."

To these demands the Yamên's reply is, that they decline to commence negotiations until Kiao-chau is evacuated.

Replying on November 23, 1897, to the second of these two despatches, Lord Salisbury said: "You may advise Chinese Government, if appealed to, to concede first four demands. As regards fifth demand, I understand that a British subject has already been granted a concession for a railway and mines. If this is so, you can inform Chinese Government that, under 'most-favoured-nation' clause, the demand is inadmissible, but that apart from this consideration the consent of her Majesty's Government cannot be given to the abrogation of the rights of a British subject for the purpose of making a concession."

In a further reference, December 18th, to the same despatch of November 22nd, the Prime Minister telegraphed: "With reference to your telegram of the 22nd ultimo, reporting the demand of the German Government in connection with the occupation of Kiao-chau Bay, you should inform the Chinese Government that her Majesty's Government will feel themselves compelled, if the fifth point is conceded, to demand equality of treatment for British subjects, under the 'most-favoured-nation' clause of the treaties, and that compensation will be required on points in respect to which the rights secured by treaty have been disregarded."

Again, The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir C. MacDonald, December 15, 1897: "With reference to your telegram of the 14th inst. in respect to the demand for commercial privileges in Shangtung, objections were raised by her Majesty's Government, in the case of the French convention of 1895, to grant exclusive privileges to other nations, and any concession to Germany of this nature will also meet opposition on their part."

Shortly after this news was received at Peking concerning the expected and the actual arrival of Russian warships in Chinese waters, and cognizance of same is taken in the two following despatches. Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 17, 1897: "I have this day received a telegram from her Majesty's Consul at Chefoo, stating that the Chinese contractor at Port Arthur had been told, by the Chinese General there, to get ready the necessary provisions for five Russian men-of-war, which were going, by permission of the Chinese Government, to winter at Port Arthur; and that the Port Arthur contractor had telegraphed yesterday to his principal at Chefoo, saying that the Russian men-of-war had arrived, and asking him to send flour at once."

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 20, 1898: "With reference to my telegram of the 17th inst., H.M.S. *Dolphin* visited Port Arthur on the 18th inst., and returned to Chefoo. She reports that there were Chinese men-of-war anchored inside Port Arthur, and three Russian men-of-war were expected at Talienwan, and three more at Port Arthur."

Information concerning a Russian proposal was conveyed in the following telegraphic message. Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 22, 1897: "I heard yesterday from a fairly reliable source, that the Chinese Government have had an offer from Russia of a 4 per cent. Loan, at 93, guaranteed by the Russian Government. The land-tax and li-Kin revenue to be security in case of non-payment. The *quid pro quo* asked for being that Russia should have the financing,

construction, and control of all railways in Manchuria and North China; and that a Russian should be appointed Inspector-General of Customs, when that post becomes vacant."

From the Minister at St. Petersburg (Mr. Goschen) to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 23, 1897: "At the reception yesterday Count Mouravieff spoke about Port Arthur. His Excellency's remarks were to the effect that it was only owing to the existence of a certain difficulty in keeping more than a certain number of ships of war in Japanese ports at one time, that the Russian ships had gone to Port Arthur. The Chinese Government had expressed their willingness to give the ships hospitality there, and the convenience of Port Arthur lay in the fact that it was not so far distant from Vladivostock, and that for repairs to ships, &c., it was more suitable than any other place."

Mr. Goschen to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 26, 1897: "The language used by Count Mouravieff on Wednesday last, at his diplomatic reception, on the subject of the entry of the Russian squadron into Port Arthur was, as your Lordship will have seen from my telegram of the 23rd inst., very much to the same effect as the account of the matter which was furnished by his Excellency to the Russian Press. He stated that the step taken was entirely a question of convenience for their ships, and had absolutely no connection with the occupation of the Bay of Kiao-chau by Germany. He added that there had always been a difficulty about keeping more than a certain number of men-of-war at a time in Japanese ports, and that consequently the Imperial Government had been glad to accept the offer of the Chinese Government to allow the Russian squadron to winter, though this fact was not so important now, as Vladivostock was at present furnished with an exceptionally powerful ice-breaker, which it was hoped would make that port available for egress and ingress during the winter months. In fact Vladivostock remained, as heretofore, their centre in the Far East, and

the headquarters of their land and sea forces, so that the mere fact of the Russian squadron wintering at Port Arthur was no change whatever in the situation. His Excellency also added that he had noticed a rumour to the effect that this arrangement had been made in consequence of the occupation by H.M.'s ship of another port, but this rumour had absolutely no foundation."

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, January 19, 1898: "In the course of my interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day, on the occasion of his weekly reception, his Excellency complained of the action of the British gunboats entering Port Arthur. Their proceedings, he said, were looked upon here as so unfriendly as to set afloat rumour of war with Great Britain; and the Russian Ambassador had consequently received instruction from him to make representation in a friendly spirit to your Lordship on the matter. I observed that I was unable to perceive how the exercise of a right secured to us by the Treaty of Tien-Tsin (Article LII.) could be construed as an unfriendly act. . . ."

We give here the clause of the Treaty referred to by Sir N. O'Connor: "British ships of war coming for no hostile purpose, or being engaged in the pursuit of pirates, shall be at liberty to visit all ports within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and shall receive every facility for the purchase of provisions, procuring water, and, if occasion requires, for making repairs. The commanders of such ships shall hold intercourse with the Chinese authorities."

The Marquess of Salisbury to her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, January 23, 1898: "I received a visit from the Russian Ambassador on the 20th inst., at which his Excellency read a telegram stating that her Majesty's ships *Immortalité* and *Redpole* were reported to have arrived at Port Arthur; that the Russian Government were anxious to maintain the most friendly relations with us in the Far East, and hoped we would endeavour to avoid any friction in their sphere of influence. I have informed Russian Ambassador, after inquiring by tele-



graph, that neither of the vessels mentioned is at Port Arthur. *Iphigenia* is the only British ship of war there; that she will be leaving in a few days; and that her visit was by orders from the Admiral, issued at his own discretion, and not under directions from her Majesty's Government. I added, however, that British ships of war had a perfect right to visit Port Arthur, and other Chinese ports in that neighbourhood, and that such visits afforded no ground for raising objections, or deserved that special importance should be attached to them."

It will surely be admitted that the central idea running through all these despatches is, that the British Government and its subjects shall receive from the Chinese Government the same considerations as are shown by the Chinese to other governments or their subjects.

The second proposition into which the announcements of the Foreign Office are resolvable is, that British subjects should not be discriminated against by hostile tariffs; and this is dealt with in the following despatches.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir C. MacDonald, December 28, 1897: "We are considering how far it is possible for her Majesty's Government to help in respect to Chinese loan. Meanwhile please advise what you think we might fairly ask for, if we could offer entire or partial guarantee, or advance the money ourselves."

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, December 30, 1897: "Following concessions I would recommend in return for a direct or guaranteed loan: (1) Requisite control of revenue. (2) Railway from Burmese frontier to Yang-tsze valley. (3) Guarantee against concession of territory in the Yang-tsze valley to any Power. (4) Talienwan to be made a treaty port. (5) Greater freedom of internal trade. (6) Freedom of foreign goods from li-Kin in the Treaty ports."

The first of these two communications, it will be observed, states the attitude of her Majesty's Government towards the proposed loan to China, and also requests suggestions from the Consul with respect to the conditions

on which that loan should be made. The second despatch is the response given to the suggestions invited, and contains, in clause No. 4, an implied deprecation of the principle of discriminative taxation. Along with the other points, this clause was accepted, for the Marquess of Salisbury to Sir C. MacDonald, January 8, 1898, telegraphed: "Financial terms depend on complete acceptance of conditions named in your telegram of the 30th December. If all are accepted we will pay to Japan the remaining indemnity, which we understand to be about £12,000,000; China to pay us 4 per cent. in gold net on whatever amount is paid, for fifty years, as principal and interest, which will extinguish the loan."

Clause No. 4 being accepted by the Government, and made a plank in the platform upon which the loan should rest, it became the starting-point of a diplomatic duel, as will be noticed in the following despatches between the British and Russian Governments.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir N. O'Connor, January 19, 1898: "The Russian Ambassador made some inquiries to-day with respect to the Chinese loan negotiations. I declined to give any precise information upon a question which was in a very uncertain state. Speaking from what his Excellency saw in the newspapers, he urged very strongly that if we insisted on making Talienwan an open port, we should be encroaching on the Russian sphere of influence, and denying her in future that right to use Port Arthur to which the progress of events had given her a claim. I asked his Excellency what possible objection he could have to making Talienwan a free port, if Russia had no designs on the territory. He replied that, without any such designs, it was generally admitted that Russia might claim a commercial *débouché* upon the open sea, and that in order to enjoy that advantage fully, she ought to be at liberty to make such arrangements with China as she could obtain with respect to the commercial *régime* which was to prevail there. I repeated that the '*most-favoured-nation clause*' forbade China to give Russia at Talienwan

*more favourable terms with regard to customs duties than she gave to other Treaty Powers."*

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir C. MacDonald, January 17, 1898: "The following communication from Li Hung Chang was made to-day by the Chinese Minister: "The terms on which English loan is offered are preferable to those proposed by Russia. Li Hung Chang hopes, however, that the request for Talienwan being a treaty port will be withdrawn by her Majesty's Government, as it is violently opposed by Russia, and the other commercial advantages to be secured to England are ample."

In a telegraphic despatch already quoted, January 19, 1898, from Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, there occurred this paragraph: "Count Mouravieff next spoke to me of a rumour that had reached him, to the effect that the opening of Talienwan as a treaty port was to be one of the conditions of the loan. This he said he could not regard as a friendly action if it were true. I replied that I had as yet heard nothing of this stipulation, but that his Excellency must be aware that the aims of our policy in China was to open up the country to foreign trade as much as possible."

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir N. O'Connor, February 2, 1898: "The Russian Ambassador called at this office on the 27th ultimo, and said that, in reply to a telegram which he had sent to Count Mouravieff, reporting the conversation which I had with him on the 12th ultimo, on the subject of Russia's intentions as regard Port Arthur and Talienwan, he had received a message from Count Mouravieff expressing great surprise at the agitation which appeared to prevail in England, both in the press and in official circles, on the subject of recent events in China, where English and Russian interests cannot be seriously antagonistic. Count Mouravieff observes that various English statesmen of position had recognised as perfectly natural that Russia should wish to have an outlet for her commerce on the North Pacific. Any such port would be open to the ships of all the Great Powers, like

other ports on the Chinese mainland. It would be open to the commerce of the world, and England, whose trade interests were so important in those regions, would share in the advantage.

"M. de Staal having asked for some expression of my views on this message which he could telegraph to Count Mouravieff, I made the following observation: 'I could not of course answer for the English press, which often advocated views different from those of the Government; but her Majesty's Government had never entertained any objection to the existence of an outlet for Russian commerce upon the open waters of the Chinese Sea, by agreement, of course, with China. The only circumstance which created apprehension in this country was the report that Russia intended to cause some port to be opened to her own imports which should not be opened, or should only be opened under higher tariffs, to the imports of other nations. This would be an infraction of the most-favoured-nation treatment assured to us by Articles XXIV. and LIV. of the treaty of Tientsin (26th June, 1858), and would be very deeply felt in England. It would moreover, even on protectionist grounds, be of no advantage to Russia, for the most important part of whatever trade might take this route would pass on across the Russian frontier, where, of course, Russia could impose what duties she pleased.'"

It is not necessary for us to follow this stream of diplomacy throughout its sinuous course, but we take it up again with the following despatches:—

Sir N. O'Connor to Count Mouravieff, St. Petersburg, March 20, 1898: "M. le Ministre, — It will be within your Excellency's recollection that, on the 4th (16th) March), you authorised me to inform her Majesty's Government that in the event of the Russian Government obtaining from the Chinese Government a lease of Talienwan and Port Arthur, both those ports would, like other ports in China, be opened to trade and commerce, and that the rights and privileges guaranteed by existing

treaties between China and foreign countries would be duly respected. In reading in the *Official Messenger* of the 17th (29th) inst. the circular telegram addressed to the Russian Representatives abroad, I observed that neither in the telegram, nor in the official communication that accompanied it, was any mention made of the fact that Port Arthur would be opened to trade. I also noticed that generally the statements referring to the protection of the interests of foreign Powers were less comprehensive than those founded upon the assurances given to me by your Excellency. Upon drawing your Excellency's attention, on Wednesday last, the 18th (30th) inst., to the omission in respect to Port Arthur, and reminding you of the assurances you had given to me in this respect, your Excellency informed me that the moment was not opportune for making them public, adding, however, that if I addressed a note to you on the subject you would send me a reply. In complying to-day with your suggestion in regard to Port Arthur, and also bearing in mind what your Excellency said on the 11th (23rd) March, I venture to express the hope that you will now see no objection to place on record in an official note the assurance which your Excellency formally authorised me to convey to her Majesty's Government."

Count Mouravieff to Sir N. O'Connor. St. Petersburg, March 20th, 1898 (April 1st): "M. L'Ambassadeur,—The note which your Excellency was good enough to address to me on the 20th March (April 1st), indicates certain misunderstandings which I am anxious to rectify without the least delay. I will begin by pointing out that the ideas which I may have expressed very confidentially on the 4th (16th) and 11th (23rd) March, relative to the condition in which it seemed desirable that Port Arthur and Talienwan should be placed, if China consented to grant a lease of them to Russia, ought never to have been interpreted as 'assurances,' and could not in reality have such a signification. It was evidently impossible for me to make the slightest engagement on this subject before the conclusion of the

arrangements, which were only signed at Peking on the 15th (27th) March. An amicable exchange of views between your Excellency and me might well take place, but you will certainly agree, M. L'Ambassadeur, that no Government could pretend to the privilege of being made acquainted with negotiations between two perfectly independent and friendly Powers. You ask me whether, in taking Port Arthur and Talienwan on lease, Russia intended to maintain the rights of sovereignty of China, and to respect the treaties existing between that Empire and other States. I answered in the affirmative, and I added that we hoped, moreover, to obtain the opening of the port of Talienwan, which would offer great advantages to all nations. Now that the negotiations with China have brought about the desired result, all that is entirely confirmed. The substitution of the Russian usufruct for possession by China of Port Arthur and Talienwan has not affected in any way the interests of other Powers in those regions; quite on the contrary. Thanks to the friendly agreement arrived at between the two great neighbouring Empires, a port hitherto closed is opened to the trade of the world, and placed under exceptionally favourable conditions, as it is destined to be connected with the great line of the Siberian Railway. As regards all other ports, the respect for the sovereign rights of China implies the scrupulous maintenance of the *status quo* existing before the lease of the ports which have been conceded. Your Excellency having observed to me that men-of-war and merchant ships are, in certain cases provided for by treaties, admitted even into the closed ports of China, I answered that accordingly this facility would be assured to them by the regulations in force. It follows that Port Arthur will be opened to English ships on the same conditions as it has always been, but not that Russia should abuse the lease which has been granted by a friendly Power to arbitrarily transform a closed and principally military port into a commercial port like any other. These are the few observations which I have thought it right to

make to your Excellency to complete the conversations which we have had on the same subject."

As illustrating the third proposition, which is, That the integrity of the Chinese Empire shall be preserved, quotations may be made from further despatches.

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir C. MacDonald, March 7, 1898: "The influence of Russia over the Government of Peking will be so increased to the detriment of that of her Majesty's Government if, as the *Times* reports, the Russians are to have a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan on the same terms as Germany and Kiao-chau, that it seems desirable for us to make some counter-move. The best plan would perhaps be, on the cession of Wei-hai-Wei by the Japanese, to insist on the lease of that port on terms similar to those granted to Germany."

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir N. O'Connor, March 8, 1898: "Peking correspondent *Times* telegraphs yesterday that Russia, in consequence of loan concluded at Peking, demands sovereign rights over Port Arthur and Talienwan on same terms as Germans at Kiao-chau, and rights to construct railway to Petuna on Trans-Manchurian Railway, *viâ* Mukden, to Port Arthur; five days given for reply; in event of non-compliance, Russian troops will advance into Manchuria. Similar report comes from MacDonald. Ascertain from Minister of Foreign Affairs whether this statement is correct."

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 9, 1898: "I was informed yesterday by Yamèn that Russian Chargé d'Affaires had demanded lease of Talienwan and Port Arthur, and railway to Port Arthur. No conditions named. Only reason given for the demand was to assist in protecting Manchuria against the aggression of other Powers. Though England and Japan are evidently meant, Chargé d'Affaires did not say which Power was intended. The absurdity of this pretext is fully recognised by the Chinese Government. They have transferred the negotiations to St. Petersburg, and have ordered Hssu to proceed to St. Petersburg from Berlin as

Special Ambassador, to endeavour to obtain withdrawal of demand. It remains to be seen whether Russia will agree to this arrangement. Yamèn are aware that they must yield to Russia's demands, unless they receive help. They earnestly beg that your Lordship will assist them, by giving assurance to the Russian Government that her Majesty's Government have no designs on Manchuria. I pointed out to them that recent assurances given in the House of Commons showed clearly that her Majesty's Government had no designs on any part of China, unless driven thereto by the aggression of other Powers. For these assurances they evinced great gratitude, but begged me to telegraph their request.

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 9, 1898: "I had an interview with Count Mouravieff to-day on the subject of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date. His Excellency stated that the Russian Representative at Peking was in treaty with Tsung-li-Yamèn for the right to make a railway on conditions similar to those laid down for the Manchurian line, to Talienwan or Port Arthur, and for the cession of these two ports for a certain number of years. No demand for sovereign rights over these two places, however, had been made, nor had the menace of sending troops into Manchuria been used. On concluding this official statement, the Minister observed that the possession of a port on an ice-free coast was a matter of vital importance to Russia, and that it was the intention of his Government to insist on getting Port Arthur and Talienwan, although the latter would be opened to foreign trade, like the other ports in China."

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir N. O'Connor, March 10, 1898. "With reference to Sir C. MacDonald's telegram of the 9th, which has just been repeated to you, you have already informed the Russian Government of our policy in China, and they must know that we have no designs on Manchuria, but you can of course give assurances to that effect if the Chinese Minister appeals to you; our only desire, as you are aware, is that it should



remain open to British trade in common with that of other nations, like other parts of China, *and that no strategical position which would threaten the Chinese Government shall be established by a foreign country.*"

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 3 1898: "At an interview with the Foreign Minister to-day, his Excellency renewed his assurances that the sovereign rights of the Chinese Government over Port Arthur and Talienwan would be in no way infringed or abrogated by their lease to Russia, but it was the firm resolve of the Russian Government to obtain the lease for a period of twenty-five years."

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 8, 1898, St. Petersburg: "My Lord,—In obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I inquired this afternoon of Count Mouravieff what truth there was in the report given by the *Times* correspondent in Peking respecting Russia's demands upon China, a copy of which I read to him. I have already reported by telegraph his Excellency's reply, which, with his permission, I took down in writing at the time, in order that there might be no misunderstanding on the subject. When he had given me his official reply, he began to enlarge upon the vital necessity to Russia of a port on the ice-free coast of China. The uncertainty attending the development of affairs in the Far East, as well as other reasons, made it incumbent upon the Russian Government to seek for some place where it would be possible to coal and repair ships in safety. They could no longer be able to do so in Japanese ports; and while England, Germany, and France had now naval stations open all the year, Russia was ice-bound in Vladivostock. Under the circumstances they had no alternative but to demand a cession both of Talienwan and Port Arthur from the Chinese Government, as one without the other was of no use to them. They did not demand sovereign rights or a perpetual cession of these places. . . . I said that I would report to your Lordship his reply to my inquiries, but that, as his remarks left no doubt in my mind that the Russian

Government intended, not only to acquire Talienwan as a commercial outlet for their Siberian Railway, but also to take possession of a very strong military position like Port Arthur, I considered that it altered, in a most important degree, the position of things in China, and to an extent which I did not think could be overlooked by a Power having such preponderating commercial interests in that country. Whatever assurance he might give me, and I had, as he was no doubt aware, been told by Count Lamsdorff that as far as he knew, there was no intention that Port Arthur should be reconverted into a military fortress, I was much afraid that once Russia entered into actual possession, the fortifications would necessarily be repaired, and the port rendered impregnable to attack. To have the Gulf of Pechili studded with fortresses in the possession of a foreign Power, however friendly it might be, was not, in my opinion, advantageous to British commercial interests, or a matter which her Majesty's Government could regard without deepest concern. Count Mouravieff replied, that British interests were practically represented in the neighbourhood of the Yang-tsz; but I reminded him that our treaty rights and privileges extended, and must extend, equally over the whole Empire of China, and that there could be no question of circumscribing the area of foreign trade within limited spheres."

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 23, 1898: "In conformity with your Lordship's telegram of the 22nd March, I saw Count Mouravieff to-day, and communicated to him the substance of the telegram, and urged, as strongly as I could, that the Russian Government should abandon their claim to Port Arthur. I cannot say that my efforts were successful. The Minister reiterated the statement that it was the wish of the Russian Government to respect the integrity of the Chinese Empire, but he refused absolutely to admit that this principle was violated by the proposed lease of Port Arthur, which could not be regarded as constituting a dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. He asserted that the possession of that

harbour was a question of vital necessity to Russia, that Russia could not be denied what had been granted to Japan and Germany, and that the only Government that raised objections was that of her Majesty. I was unable to induce his Excellency to modify his view."

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 24, 1898: "I saw the Yamên this afternoon. They said that Russian Government has informed them they cannot consider the question of Port Arthur and Talienwan apart, and insist on a lease of both places being granted to Russia before the 27th of March, failing which Russia will take hostile measures. Chinese Government are therefore forced against their will to give way."

The Marquess of Salisbury to Sir N. O'Connor, March 24, 1898: "The Russian Ambassador called upon Mr. Balfour this afternoon, and asked how things stood between Russia and England in the Far East. Mr. Balfour said that the news he had received appeared to him most unsatisfactory. We had always looked with favour upon the idea of Russia obtaining an ice-free port on the Pacific, and he himself had given expression to this view two years ago in a public speech. But the Russian Government had now given a most unfortunate extension to this policy. If they succeeded in carrying out their proposal of occupying Port Arthur, which was wholly useless as a commercial port, and had no significance or importance except as a military stronghold, they would in effect be commencing the dismemberment of China, and inviting other Powers to follow their example. Mr. Balfour added, that it was to be regretted that a policy which, so far as he could judge, would not further the aims or interests of Russia, should in any way menace the friendship of the two countries. M. de Staal replied, that Talienwan was the point offering the most favourable conditions as an outlet for Russian commerce on the Pacific, and that this outlet must necessarily be protected. Talienwan was, however, entirely dominated by Port Arthur, and Russia could not leave this stronghold in the hands of any foreign Power."

Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Salisbury, March 23, 1898: "My Lord,—I have the honour to report, that I spoke to Count Mouravieff this afternoon in the sense of your Lordship's telegram of yesterday's date, and before I left I read to him a paraphrase of its contents. After formally expressing the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government at the assurance given by the Russian Government to engage to respect the rights and privileges guaranteed by existing treaties between China and foreign Powers, and the sovereignty of China, I repeated to his Excellency the arguments set forth by your Lordship, and those I had previously used, as your Lordship is aware, with a view to induce his Excellency to reconsider the advisability of pressing demands upon China which were tantamount to the commencement of the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. I laid stress upon the advantage to Russia of the pledge which your Lordship was willing to give, not to occupy the Gulf of Pechili, so long as other Powers likewise abstain from doing so, and tried to convince his Excellency that this would give Russia all she could legitimately demand, without opening the way to possible complications, and that an understanding between her Majesty's Government and Russia would, in almost any possible eventuality, secure the safety of the Russian fleet either at Talienwan or elsewhere. His Excellency would not, however, admit that the occupation of Port Arthur was an attack upon the integrity of China, or a menace to Peking, or that it injured other Powers in any way. In fact, he said that it was England alone that made difficulties and stood in the way of Russia. No other Government had questioned him officially on the subject, or seemed to resent in any degree the proposed action of Russia. His remarks on this subject showed some heat, but I found it easy to justify our interference on the score of the immensely superior importance of our commercial interests. His Excellency then went on to say, that Talienwan was useless without Port Arthur, as they must have a safe harbour for their fleet, which could not be at

the mercy of the elements at Vladivostock, or depend upon the goodwill of the Japanese. Every other great maritime Power had a naval station in the Chinese seas, and why should not Russia, whose fleet was now considerable, and whose territory was conterminous? In fact, it was a matter of vital importance to Russia, and they must insist upon obtaining a lease of the ports."

Our object in making so many quotations has been to show how stubbornly the three principles which they embody have been contested by the disputants, and we now proceed to point out the measure of success that has attended their iteration and reiteration. In the concessions<sup>1</sup> reported in the following despatch it is evident that, so far as the letter is concerned, the plea for the first principle has been entirely successful.

Sir C. MacDonald to the Marquess of Salisbury, Peking, February 14, 1898: "I have now received the following assurances:—(1) International navigation will be opened before middle of June to British steamers. Sir R. Hart has been instructed to frame regulations. Wording of my despatch which Yamên accept is as follows: 'Chinese Government consents that foreigners shall equally be permitted to employ steamers, or steam launches, whether Chinese or foreign owned, wherever use of native boats is now by treaty permitted.' (2) From an assurance as regards Yang-tsze, is as follows: In reply to my despatch reminding them of the great importance that has always been attached by Great Britain to the retention in Chinese possession of the Yang-tsze region, and demanding an assurance that China would never alienate any territories of the provinces adjoining the Yang-tsze to any other Power, Yamên quote my despatch in full, and say it is out of the question that territory in the Yang-tsze region should be mortgaged, leased, or ceded to another Power. (3) Yamên have written despatch stating that, owing to the great preponderance of British trade over that of other Powers, Chinese Government intend that the post of

<sup>1</sup> Add the cession of Wei-hai-Wei," see p. 100.

Inspector-General shall, in the future, as in the past, be held by an Englishman. If at any time British trade with China at the ports should fall below that of any other nation, Chinese Government will no longer be bound to appoint an Englishman as Inspector-General. I was unable to induce them to pledge themselves to open port in Huran in less than two years, though they promised to shorten the time if possible. What they fear is an outbreak in the province."

The other two principles, or announcements, appear to have failed, and Mr. A. J. Balfour, on behalf of the Marquess of Salisbury, commented on the consequent situation in the following able and pungent despatch, addressed to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg :—

Foreign Office, March 28, 1898. "Sir, from your Excellency's telegrams, and from those which have reached her Majesty's Government from Peking, it appears that the Russian Government have requested from that of China three concessions in Manchuria and the Liaotung Peninsula. They have demanded a lease of Talienwan, a lease of Port Arthur, and the right to construct, under specified conditions, a railway connecting these two ports with the general railway system of Siberia. It is evident that these concessions, whether temporary in form or not, will permanently and profoundly affect the future conditions of Manchuria. For good or for evil, the social, political, and economic state of this region must inevitably be revolutionised when it is traversed by a railway under Russian management, connecting ports on the Pacific under Russian control with the commercial and military system of the Russian Empire. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine how these changes are likely to affect British interests, and what attitude her Majesty's Government should adopt with regard to them. The interests of this country in China are not, indeed, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, different in kind from those of other countries, but they are greater in extent, and have a greater relative importance, in proportion as the volume of

British trade exceeds that in the hands of other nations. Speaking generally, it may be said, that the policy of this country is effectively to open China to the commerce of the world, and that our estimate of the action of other Powers in the Far East depends on the degree to which it promotes or hinders the attainment of this object. It follows from this, that the occupation of territory by foreign Powers is to be judged by the results, direct or indirect, immediate and remote, which it is likely to have upon the commercial interests of the world, and the rights of all nations to trade within the limits of the Chinese Empire upon equal terms. The construction of railways, so long as the natural flow of trade along them is not obstructed or diverted by fiscal or administrative regulations, must always be one of the most powerful means by which the ends desired by her Majesty's Government may be attained. It is with no dissatisfaction, therefore, that they view the scheme of railway extension which is to traverse Manchuria from north to south, and ultimately to connect Talienwan with the general system of Russian railways. An ice-free port in the Far East has always seemed to her Majesty's Government to be a legitimate object of Russian ambition, and they have no objection to offer to its acquisition. *Her Majesty's Government have further noted with satisfaction that the conditions to which the opening of new railways in China should, in their opinion, be subject, viz., the continuance of the rights and privileges secured to foreign nations by existing treaties, have been guaranteed by the explicit declarations of the Russian Government, which have been conveyed through you to her Majesty's Government in your telegram of the 16th of March, and despatch of that date. The declarations are to the effect that Port Arthur, as well as Talienwan, shall be open to foreign trade like other Chinese ports, that Russia has no intention of impairing the sovereignty of China, and that she will respect all the rights and privileges secured by existing Treaties between China and foreign Powers—a pledge which not only includes equality of commercial treat-*

*ment, but also the right of foreign ships of war to visit ports which, though leased to Russia, are still to remain integral portions of the Chinese Empire.*

“The commercial side, therefore, of Russian policy in Manchuria, considered in the light of engagements entered into by the Russian Government, is in accord with the general views of her Majesty’s Government. Unfortunately this cannot be said of the policy considered as a whole. The Russian Government have exacted from the Yamên, not merely concessions through Manchuria, and the lease of a commercial harbour at Talienwan; they have required that the control of Port Arthur should be ceded to them for a like term of years under similar conditions. Now, Port Arthur is not a commercial harbour. It is doubtful whether it could be converted into one. It is certain that, even if such a project were possible, it could never be worth while for the owners or lessees of Talienwan to embark upon it. But though not a commercial harbour, Port Arthur supplies a naval base, limited indeed in extent, but possessing great natural and artificial strength. And this, taken in connection with its strategic position, gives it an importance in the Gulf of Pechili, and therefore at Peking, upon which, in their representation to Japan at the close of the war with China, the Russian Government laid the greatest emphasis. It is from this last point of view that the occupation of Port Arthur chiefly concerns her Majesty’s Government. It is not because a position which can easily be made a naval arsenal of great strength has been acquired by Russia, that they regret its occupation by that Power. It is because the possession, even if temporary, of this particular position, is likely to have political consequences at Peking of great international importance; and because the acquisition of a Chinese harbour notoriously useless for commercial purposes by a foreign Power, will be universally interpreted in the Far East as indicating that the partition of China has begun. As regards the second of these reasons nothing further need be said, inasmuch as



her Majesty's Government understand, from Count Mouravieff's communication to you, that this result is as little desired by the Russian Government as it is by that of her Majesty. As regards the first, it may perhaps be proper to observe, that a great military Power which is conterminous for over 4,000 miles with the land frontier of China, including the portion lying nearest to its capital, is never likely to be without its due share of influence on the councils of that country. Her Majesty's Government regard it as most unfortunate that it has been thought necessary, in addition, to obtain control of a port which, if the rest of the Gulf of Pechili remains in hands so helpless as those of the sovereign Power, will command the maritime approaches to its capital, and give Russia the same strategic advantage by sea which she already possesses, in so ample a measure, by land. Her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty thus to put on record their grave objections to the occupation of Port Arthur by Russia. They regret that the proposals contained in my telegram of the 22nd inst. were not acceptable to the Cabinet at St. Petersburg, but as these were rejected they must retain their entire liberty of action to take what steps they think best to protect their own interests, and to diminish the evil consequences which they anticipate. Your Excellency will read this despatch to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and will give him a copy of it."

The part of this letter that we have printed in italics, expressing satisfaction with the declaration of the Russian Government—"That Port Arthur as well as Talienwan shall be open to foreign trade, like other Chinese ports; that Russia has no intention of impairing the sovereignty of China; and that she will respect all rights and privileges secured by existing treaties between China and other foreign Powers"—appears to be greatly weakened by the facts immediately following them in the same letter. And in view of the closing words of the despatch—"But not that Russia should abuse the lease which has been granted by a friendly Power to arbitrarily transform a

closed and principally military port into a commercial port, like any other"—the earlier satisfaction seems even to be negatived.

#### THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ISSUE.

The question arises, What else could have been done? Clearly the resources of diplomacy have been exhausted in the efforts to bring about a permanent settlement. There appears to have been only two courses open. One was to yield to Russia with a protest, and this has been done by the British Government. The other was an appeal to arms. Taking the latter alternative, one naturally asks, On what ground would the sword have been unsheathed? On moral grounds, or on the ground of expediency? Suppose we say on moral grounds, and, in support of our position, we urge the plea that, consonant with our treaty rights, we had been endeavouring to open up China to the trade of the world; but that Russia, by her strategic position recently acquired in that country, and her restrictive tariffs, threatens to dissipate those endeavours. The idea of opening to a people the commerce of the civilised world from which to select its supplies, is in itself a grand conception; and, as making skilful execution, and moderate prices, the guarantees for the sale of goods, stimulating between manufacturers a healthy rivalry, and producing in the goods wrought higher and higher degrees of quality, such an idea confers, both upon the producer and the consumer, the highest possible benefits. Yet, great though this idea is in practice as well as in theory, would not its enforcement at the point of the sword be an excessive price for its defence? To-day we stand firm on the platform of free-trade; but that position was neither taken up nor maintained at the bidding of sentiment. It was assumed at the behest of reason and necessity, it is continued by the unexampled prosperity of a nation, who before chafed under the inequalities and the rigidity of protection. But when we served under that taskmaster none received its doctrines more loyally than we did, none

practised them more devoutly, none had the cause of Protection more closely at heart. And now that we have, at the imperative command of necessity and reason, supported by experience, become the followers of Free Trade, we behold other great States displaying in the cause of Protection the same devotion and zeal that we displayed in former times. And not only they, and their Colonies and dependencies, but our own Colonies also are valiant knights of the Protectionist banner. Under such circumstances, then, with the remembrance of our own alliance, our own adhesion, our own activity, in the cause of Protection, and in the knowledge that our Colonies are Protectionists and not Free-traders, would we have been doing well in securing the recognition of the idea or the principle of Free Trade from any State by force?

But perhaps a war against Russia would have been undertaken rather on the ground of the threatened dismemberment of the Chinese Empire than to enforce the principle of Free Trade. As it appears to us, such a war would have presupposed one of two conditions as existing between this country and China. It would have presupposed either the existence of treaty obligations which, anticipating the contingency, provided for such a co-operation, or that our aid has been specifically requisitioned by China, and that we, mainly out of consideration for our preponderating commercial interests in that land, accepted the invitation. But is there an Anglo-Chinese treaty of the nature of a defensive or offensive alliance between the two nations? Or has China sought our aid in the matters affecting her interests in relation to Russia? In the absence, then, of both these two conditions, upon what ground would we have stood in attempting to defend the integrity of the Chinese Empire?

So far, however, we have left out of reckoning the strongest reason that might have moved us to take up arms against Russia in the present controversy. That reason, of which the prior reasons cited are mere corollaries, is, that we must defend British trade in view of an ap-

proaching danger. Like all other serious and important undertakings, such a war would have been determinable not only by the present advantages it might produce, but by the consequences also which it might awaken. Suppose we had gone to war with Russia on the score of our Chinese trade, and we were in the end successful, so that we managed to beat back the menace that was threatening our trade ; would such a deliverance have been temporary or permanent ? One thing which seems certain about the future of our trade with China is, that owing to the changed conditions in that country, sooner or later our Chinese trade will decline. If we had fought Russia, if we had succeeded in keeping the war to her alone, and had won, Russia would have left us for a time with a free hand in China, retiring to repair her losses, and smarting under the humiliation of defeat. She would have resolved more firmly than before on the ultimate domination of China ; and, swept along, when the time arrived, by the momentum of her unconquerable resolution, she would have entered upon the accomplishment of her purpose with less moderation than would, under the present circumstances, characterise her action. Thus, whilst in the end we might have had to our credit the profits of the interval, there would have been standing to our debit, in addition to the loss of men, and in addition to war expenses, the ultimate loss of our Chinese trade, and the fierce enmity of Russia.

But whilst the absence of an alliance or of a request from China would, in our judgment, have made our going to war with Russia indefensible, we also believe that war might have been justifiable, not against Russia but against China, if, notwithstanding the Anglo-Chinese commercial treaty, and the concessions recently made to Russia and Germany, China, when applied to, had refused to make similar concessions to Great Britain.

Were such concessions applied for by Great Britain ? and were they given by China ? The answer to both these questions is in the affirmative. And the nature and scope of the concessions we have elsewhere fully dealt with.

### THE QUESTION FROM THE RUSSIAN STANDPOINT.

So far we have been looking at the question from the British point of view ; we now endeavour to take the Russian standpoint. In the endeavour to do so we are by no means oblivious of what seems to be, on the part of Russian diplomacy, an irregular and eccentric orbit, in its relation to the solar system of truth. Leaving this, however, as but an excrescence on the real subject, it has to be borne in mind that the present embroglio in China is due, radically, to the altered position of each of the three principal actors—China, Russia, and England. The last time that China entered the arena of war with a Western Power was, as we have seen, the period extending from 1855–1858. The war is chronicled in history as the second Chinese War, and the nation against whom China fought was Great Britain. At the time of this second Chinese War British trade and influence in China were comparatively small. And as for the third Power (Russia) the exacerbation of her wounds received in the Crimea War (1854–1856) was not yet assuaged ; hence she was unable to give serious attention to events then transpiring in the domicile of her great neighbour. But when, by the Chino-Japanese War in 1894, Japan, like a physician who had thoroughly examined his patient, published to the world the bulletin that China was in a state of utter collapse, Russia, as a neighbour of China, with 4,000 miles of conterminous frontier, had not only recovered from the effects of her fall at the Crimea, but was also on the lookout for an entrêpot for her commerce, and an ice-free port for her ships, and England had by this time risen to exert almost supreme influence in China.

These are the three factors composing the situation in the Far East. The demonstration first and foremost of China's complete disorganisation by Japan ; next, England's supreme commercial position in China ; and lastly, Russia's geographical, political, and prospective commercial relations with the Chinese Empire.

What we see then is the greatest commercial Power in the world, as one of the pioneers of the Chinese trade, as the chief builder of that trade, and as the principal owner of it, inviting all nations to a free and full participation with herself in its benefits. But side by side with this broad and munificent invitation are two conditions enjoined upon the participants, viz., the observance of the principles of Free Trade, and respect for the integrity of the Chinese Empire.

On the other side we have Russia—the Leviathan of the North—by reason of her ice-sealed ports, her want of a commercial outlet, and her political and geographical relations with China, contending, with the vehemence of despair, not only for an outlet for her goods, nor for a coaling station and a harbour for her fleet, but for a market that will make her trade supreme within the area of her jurisdiction, and a port that will raise her influence throughout China to the point of predominance. On looking at the position of these two nations, no impartial critic would deny the rights of their respective attitudes from their different standpoints. The question, however, that presents itself is, How can their divergent positions and policies be made to harmonise?

Referring again to the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury, delivered on May 5, 1898; after describing the “great countries of enormous power, growing in dominion, wealth, and organisation, with facilities for concentrating upon a given point the whole military force of the population, and assembling armies of a magnitude and power never dreamt of in the generations that have gone by,” the speaker proceeded to sketch, and enlarge upon, the parallel thus: “By the side of these splendid organisations, of which nothing seems to diminish the force, and which present rival claims which the future may only be able by bloody arbitrament to adjust—by the side of these there are a number of communities which I can only describe as dying, though the epithet applies to them of course in very different degrees, and with a very

different amount of certain application. They are mainly communities that are not Christian, but I regret to say, that is not exclusively the case, and in these States disorganisation and decay are advancing almost as fast as concentration, and increasing power, are advancing in the living nations that stand beside them. Decade after decade they are weaker, poorer, and less provided with leading men, or institutions, in which they can trust, apparently drawing nearer and nearer to their fate, and yet cleaving, with strange tenacity, to the life which they have got. In them misgovernment is not only not cured, but is constantly on the increase. The Society, the official Society, and the Administration is a mass of corruption, so that there is no firm ground on which any hope of restoration could be founded ; in their various degrees they are presenting a terrible picture to the more enlightened portion of the world, a picture which, unfortunately, the increase in the means of information and communication draws with darker and more conspicuous lineaments in the face of all nations, appealing to their feelings as well as to their interests, calling upon them to bring forward a remedy. How long this state of things is likely to go on, of course, I do not attempt to prophesy. All I can indicate is, that that process is proceeding, that the weak States are becoming weaker, and the strong States are becoming stronger. It needs no speciality of prophecy to point out to you what the inevitable result of that combined process must be. For one reason or for another—from the necessity of politics, or under the pretence of philanthropy—the living nations will gradually encroach on the territory of the dying, and the seeds and causes of conflict among civilised nations will speedily appear. Of course it is not to be supposed that any one nation of the living nations will be allowed to have the profitable monopoly of curing, or cutting up, these unfortunate patients, and the controversy is as to who shall have the privilege of doing so, and in what measure he shall do it.”

It will probably be noticed, that the condition of the latter of the two classes of States dealt with here by England, through her First Minister, is not actual dissolution, but merely the progress towards it; they are not *dead*, but *dying* nations.

According to this eminent authority, the conditions of the weak and dying nations on the one hand, and of the vigorous and growing nations on the other, involve the three following possible results: viz., invasion of the dying nations by the living; dismemberment of the former by the latter; and conflict among the living nations. Of course, as the exponent of these processes, Great Britain's Minister simply recognises them as the sequences of the two sets of conditions. And in the following phrase Lord Salisbury lays down the rule that should be observed, "It is not to be supposed that any one nation of the living nations is to have the profitable monopoly of curing, or cutting up, these unfortunate patients." In other words, the rule is, equal division and participation among the living nations ~~of these dying nations~~. So then, although the despatches reproduced in these pages may have been intended to prevent, in this particular instance, the threatened dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, yet, with respect to two at least of the three-fold results mentioned, viz., invasion and dismemberment, they could only at most have delayed, they could not diminish or altogether prevent, that threatened dismemberment.

Did not the conditions of living and dying nations, and the results of invasion and dismemberment, underlie the absorption of Poland, of India, of Africa, of America, of Madagascar, of Australia, of the Hawaiian Islands, by the stronger nations? And if the same conditions, under which the stronger races have constituted themselves executors of the inheritance of the weaker races, exist in China—and no one denies their existence—Russia, finding these conditions in China, may feel it her duty to press them to the limit of threatened dismemberment, or even dismemberment outright. Further, if she hedges



in the territory or territories thus acquired with hedges and barbed fences of protective tariffs, according to the International law and practice prevailing in regard to Europe, to Asia, to Africa, to America, to Australia, and the islands of the seas, where would be the immorality of her action, and where the moral grounds for our making war, on either or both of these respects, against Russia?

But there is another ground, besides that of morality, on which war against Russia might have been undertaken by England. It is the ground of expediency. And we need not conceal from ourselves the fact, that war has more often been undertaken in obedience to the law of expediency, than in defence or promotion of moral principles. The exigency of a political party, advantages—material or otherwise—to a nation, the preservation of prestige, &c., have so much prominence in the field of politics, and are so incessant in their demand for attention, as almost to exclude from political consideration the moral-ground claim as a factor for sanctioning or prohibiting war. Therefore, in touching the subject of expediency we enter a most important political domain. As furnishing an optimistic view of the practically certain sweep that would have attended such a war with Russia, we may give the substance of a conversation between a correspondent of the *Daily News* and an eminent diplomatist, which was reported by that journal in August, 1898. We are told that the conversation turned principally on the part to be played by France in the controversies now pending, and likely to develop between the Great Powers and China. The rôle of the Republic in the Anglo-Russian conflict, said this gentleman, must be above all of a passive character. France has with the British Empire too many interests in common which necessitate a friendly solution, to allow her lightly to incur hostile public opinion in England, by showing herself too favourable to the development of Russian policy in China. The difference between England and Russia in the Gulf of Pechili and the Yangtsze Valley should, he continued, be adjusted by the two

nations themselves, without any meddling by third parties. Were it otherwise the danger would arise of a general conflagration, and this would bring upon the whole civilised world untold misery. In such a war as that indicated, Great Britain, in the opinion of the diplomatist in question, would prove the strongest, for her wonderful navy would inflict such disasters upon opposing fleets that British supremacy would once more be reaffirmed, and for a whole century to come, on all the seas of the globe. France in the struggle would be terribly exposed. Her seaboard towns would be destroyed, and all communications with her Colonies would be cut off. Nor is it by any means necessary that England should be in possession of an army to carry on the conflict on land, for she is invulnerable at sea, and her fleet will be able to command all the naval routes. With her immense resources, she would be able to prolong the struggle indefinitely, and we should see her gold, and her advice, fomenting insurrections everywhere—in China, in Asia Minor, in Morocco, in Algeria. And all this in addition to the fact that at least one Power in Europe—Italy—and another in the East—Japan—would furnish her with armies, which, in conjunction with British and Indian regiments, might, in Europe on the one side, and in China and Asia Minor on the other, make themselves masters of important bases of operations under protection of her fleet, while the Continental armies, unable to effect a landing in England, would soon be fighting among themselves. "For the rest, the conditions of the Franco-Russian Alliance do not apply to events outside Europe. France is bound to Russia only for a defensive war in Europe. It is therefore to be hoped that French diplomacy will act with the greatest possible prudence, and that it will endeavour, should the influence of its command make it possible, to soothe whatever sore feeling may result from the conflict of influence which we are witnessing between England and Russia in China. This," said the diplomatist, "is my opinion, and it agrees with the majority of those who have any influence in France."

But as a counterpoise, and perhaps a corrective, to this somewhat sanguine view, reference may be made to Mr. Chamberlain's explicit and positive pronouncement on the matter, a pronouncement all the more important since it expresses, not simply the ideas of an eminent statesman, but, being the utterances of a Cabinet Minister, it may be treated as the opinion, the belief, and the declaration of the War Office and the Admiralty, sealed and confirmed by the entire Ministry. Now, what does Mr. Chamberlain, in his historic speech, delivered in Birmingham, and reported in the papers, May 4, 1898, say upon the subject? "We might have declared war on Russia. We might for a year or two have held Port Arthur against Russia, but we have no military force there to back us up, and no frontier in China. I am one of those who think that for any country there are worse things than war; there is loss of honour, there is loss of those interests which are vital to the security of the existence of the nation. But in any case, I hope I am sensible enough never to give my voice for war unless I see, at the commencement of the war, a fair probability that at the end of the war the objects of the war will have been obtained. Now, what does history show us? It shows that unless we are allied to some great military power, as we were in the Crimean war, when we had France and Turkey as our allies, we cannot seriously injure Russia, although it may also be true that she cannot seriously injure us."

In contrast with the candid but plausible statement of our diplomatist, we have Mr. Chamberlain's declaration, "that unless we are allied to some great military power, as we were in the Crimean War, when we had France and Turkey on our side, we cannot seriously injure Russia." One of the probable results of the outbreak of an Anglo-Russian war would be, that we should be left for a time without a single ally.

In this connection the part of the American President's message to Congress relating to China is worth reproducing here, since it would seem to indicate the disposition,

on the part of the American nation, to interfere on behalf of the integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the unrestricted flow of its trade. "The United States have not been an indifferent spectator to the extraordinary events transpiring in China, whereby portions of China's maritime provinces are passing under the control of various European Powers, but the prospect of vast commerce, the energy of our citizens, and the necessity for our staple productions for Chinese uses being built up in those regions, may not be prejudiced through any exclusive treatment by the new occupants."

But, with the view of giving this announcement its full significance, we must consider what the American trade is with China, and what it is, say, with France. Whilst it is quite true that America's relations with China commercially, for example, during 1896 and 1897, show an increase over the previous year (being 1895-96, £5,788,828, and 1896-97, £6,464,150); and whilst it is true that during the same periods the commercial interchanges between the States and Russia have diminished instead of increased (1895-96, £2,201,004, and 1896-97, £2,158,324), it is also quite true that between America and France, the trade which in 1895-96 was more than the double of what American trade was with China, in 1896-97, had considerably increased, in 1896-97, over 1895 and 1896. Thus, 1895-96, £22,323,938, and 1896-97, £24,763,572.

To take their part in an Anglo-Russian war, America, in the probable interruption of her trade with France, if not with Germany also, would lose very considerably more than she could recoup for some years to come from her Chinese trade. It affords, therefore, a theme for speculation, whether a great Protectionist country which has already surrounded herself, and is likely to surround her newly acquired territories, with a wall of discriminative tariffs, would sacrifice twenty millions of European to gain ten millions of Chinese trade, by fighting with a nation which in the acquisition of territory, and regulation of its trade duties, has done no more and no worse than she has done.

And as for Germany, for the reasons given in the earlier part of this work, we venture to give our opinion, that in an Anglo-Russian war, her moral support, at least, would be with Russia, and that her attitude would give direction to the conduct of the other members of the Triple Alliance. For is it to be thought that the forcible possession of Kiao-chau by Germany in November, 1897, scarcely three months after the German Emperor's visit to St. Petersburg, was a spasmodic and isolated act which the slaughter of two German missionaries in China had precipitated? A move so bold, a move pregnant with far-reaching consequences, a move undertaken in the very basement, so to speak, of the Russian Empire—is it conceivable that it was entertained, planned, elaborated, and executed upon so trifling a pretext by a nation that is bound so closely to Russia, a nation whose Emperor, only three months previously, had received in the Russian capital a most cordial welcome? Is it to be supposed, under these circumstances, that Germany concealed from Russia the design that she so soon afterwards sprung upon China? It is difficult to receive such a conjecture. It is more reasonable to believe that a communication was made to Russia by Germany, so that the subsequent moves of both Powers in the Far East occasioned surprise to neither party.

Nor does it seem improbable that the French President who visited St. Petersburg the same month as the German Emperor, was taken into this confidence also. On that belief may be interpreted the reiterated remarks of the Russian Minister, Count Mouravieff, to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, March 23, 1898: "That the only Government which raised objection (to Russia's pretensions in China) was that of her Majesty." And again in the written despatch of this same date, we find the British Minister, in the report of his interview with Count Mouravieff, saying: "In fact, he said, that it was England alone that made difficulties, and stood in the way of Russia. No other Government had questioned him

officially on the subject, or seemed to resent in any degree the proposed action of Russia." In a war with Russia, therefore, we would not have only to consider the unsatisfactory issue of fighting a nation whom, on account of our single-handedness, "we cannot seriously injure," but we would have in addition to consider the positive danger of entering against a combination, consisting morally, if not actively, of the "great military Power," whose alliance is held by the British Government as indispensable for defeating Russia. Would a war undertaken under circumstances of such gravity be deemed expedient? Yet during the late Anglo-Russian controversy, whispers, mutterings, and murmurs, in which the word *war* was not infrequent, were heard, swelling sometimes into something like the sound of clamour.

England therefore is to be congratulated that she still commands the services of a statesman who is strong enough to receive the shafts of criticism without succumbing to their wounds, and thereby drawing down upon the nation the avalanche of a calamitous war. We maintain that neither on moral grounds, nor on the ground of expediency, could a war have been waged against Russia for the settlement of the misunderstandings that unfortunately sprang up between the two nations. The proper sphere of settlement is diplomacy. And, thanks to the wisdom and prudence of British statesmanship, that was the sphere chosen, and to that sphere the controversy has been confined.

We have said that the resources of diplomacy are exhausted; yet the controversy must still remain in that sphere until diplomacy has sufficiently recovered its strength to resume more favourably the work of a final settlement.

The diplomatic controversy was carried on, as we have seen by the despatches, with earnestness and ability; Russia, striving for political and commercial supremacy in China; and Great Britain striving to protect her commercial supremacy there. Both sides were determined,

but Russia, whose needs were urgent, and even desperate, appears to have come off best in the encounter.

Referring to Russia in his despatch to her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, March 24, 1898, the Marquess of Salisbury said : "The possession of Port Arthur was not desired by us, but, on the other hand, its occupation by another nation *would have an effect upon the balance of power at Peking which her Majesty's Government could not but regard with grave objection.*" In another despatch, of March 25, 1898, to Sir C. MacDonald, the Prime Minister adds : "*Balance of power in the Gulf of Pechili is materially altered by surrender of Port Arthur by Yamên to Russia.*" These, as well as other statements made in previous quotations, make it plain that Russia now holds the key to the position of political domination in China ; and, holding that key, she must eventually control the commerce there also. If the positions of the two nations had been reversed, that is to say, if Russia had been in the place of England, and England in the place of Russia, Russia having the predominance of trade in China, and England being without a single reliable port, without any outlet for her trade, and at the same time joined to China by a frontier of 4,000 miles, it may be confidently affirmed that England would, with the same fierce energy shown by Russia, have obtained the political supremacy that Russia has now apparently secured in China. But it would not follow that in the endeavour to gain that supremacy England would necessarily have been actuated by ill-will towards Russia. The same surely holds good with Russia in its relation to England in the recent difficulties. China is a giant asleep, and Russia has gone to Peking to wake him up.

## CHAPTER X

### CHINA A ROAD TO INDIA

CONNECTED with this Chinese question is a further question which is even more momentous. It is one that stands in vital relations to the integrity and continuity of our own Empire. And it is suggested by the fact that China is a road and a broad road to British India. Hence, in seeking to keep the integrity of China, an attempt is also made to keep the gates of India closed against invasion.

The question before us is this, Would the Russian domination of China endanger our Indian Empire? If any doubt were entertained that, among a very large section of Englishmen, there is a strong belief that Russia is bent upon the invasion of India, and that every movement she makes in the East is directed towards that ultimate end, one would need only to consult the numerous treatises dealing with the subject, the columns of the daily Press, and other current literature. The following extracts from the writings of two eminent authorities set forth this feeling of apprehension.

The first of the two authorities is Sir Charles Dilke, and the paragraph is taken from his article in the *Fortnightly Review*, of 1887, p. 764. "The position of a Power which, with a handful of civilians and troops, occupies an enormous country with 300,000,000 of inhabitants, while the greatest military Power of the world is gradually becoming her near



neighbour, is a delicate position. A feeling of unrest spreads over the whole country, and it is not to be expected that the native army should escape altogether from that feeling, aroused by the threatening position of Russia on the borders of Afghanistan. The recent nearer approach of Russia to the heart of Afghanistan has caused a great and necessary increase in the expenditure of Indian money. The nearer she comes the more money must be spent. More British troops have to be kept in India, and railroads have to be made through very difficult country, without any hope of their ever being remunerative works. It is the universal opinion of the Indian authorities of the present day, that India is lost to us if Russia should be allowed to press forward into Afghanistan, after the promise given to defend the frontier of the Ameer. If, after the pledges given, and the arrangements made, we were to remain inactive when the Russian gained any part of Afghan territory, every one in India would believe that we felt ourselves unable to cope with them, and faith in our ability to retain possession of the country would be lost. The Afghans and the border tribes would then join the Russians, and render their invasion of India a comparatively easy operation, and our native troops would begin to doubt the wisdom of remaining loyal. . . . Those who know Sir Frederick Roberts will not think him an alarmist, but it is pretty clearly his impression that war between England and Russia for the possession of India is inevitable, by reason of the Russian determination to advance."

The authority we next quote is Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, late President of the "Royal Geographical Society," &c. In the second edition of his work,<sup>1</sup> he says, "Whether it be from a natural law of increase, or from the preponderating weight of the military classes, thirsting for distinction, or from the deliberate action of a government which aims at augmented power in Europe, through extension in Asia, or from all these causes com-

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<sup>1</sup> "England and Russia in the East," p. 350.

bined, we are told, on high authority, that in spite of professions of moderation, in spite of the Emperor's really pacific tendencies, in spite even of our remonstrances and possibly our threats, Russia will continue to push on towards India until arrested by a barrier which she can neither remove nor overstep. If this programme be correct, it means of course contact and collision, and such, I believe, as far as my own means of observation extends, to be the inevitable result in due course."

These two extracts bear a strong testimony to the widespread feeling of apprehension that is existing in connection with the future of India. But in what has this apprehension its rootage? As far as we have been able to discover, the belief concerning an Indian invasion by Russia originated in the widely circulated report that the conquest of India was one of the cherished designs of Peter the Great, of Russia; and that he committed its execution, by his will, to his successors. This germ of belief reached its present form of development through certain documentary accretions, purporting to be plans drawn up at different times by Russia for the invasion of India; together with the steady and persistent advance of Russia in Central Asia. As to the supposed will of Peter the Great, conveying to his successors the command to conquer India, there is no evidence whatever to substantiate its genuineness, or even to prove its existence. And the author of the excellent volumes entitled, "*Russia's March towards India*" (vol. i., p. 35), to whom we are not a little indebted for his remarks on this phase of the subject, thus alludes to the will: "Mention is frequently made of the apocryphal document called the will of Peter the Great, and many, assuming that document to be genuine, endeavour to prove that ever since Peter's death, Russian Tsars and diplomatists have steadily pursued a course of policy strictly in keeping with the principles set forth in the so-called will, and which virtually amounts to the conquest of the world. But the very existence of such a will is disputed, and its fictitious character, if not actually established, is highly probable."

The first mention of this will is contained in a book published by M. Lesur in 1812, and entitled, "Of the Progress of Russian Power from the Commencement to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." This famous book was apparently written by order of Napoleon I., who at the time ordered the publication, in the French newspapers, of a series of articles in which he endeavoured to prove "that Europe found herself in train to become the prey of Russia." "War between France and Russia then appeared inevitable, and Napoleon was anxious to prove that Russia was an enemy of Europe."

"The will reappeared on several occasions when it seemed desirable to revive the idea that Russia was bent on obtaining the Empire of the world."

In the discussion on the origin and growth of the Russian Empire, it was observed that the first step was unification, and that followed by extension. It was also incidentally noticed that Peter the Great, by whom the Russian Empire was modernised, made strenuous efforts to promote Russian trade. In that connection we learn of expeditions having been organised and despatched by him to India. The first of these expeditions of which there is any account was his sending a merchant named Simon Malinki to that country in 1694. This merchant, whose mission seems to have proved a failure, was provided with government stores and money, and the object of his journey was to open up trade between Russia and India.

In 1700, the Tsar accepted the proffered submission of the Khan of Khiva. Some years later, news of the great stores of mineral wealth in Central Asia began to reach the Tsar. In this way, in 1713, his Majesty was informed by the Governor of Siberia, that sand saturated with gold was found in abundance near the town of Irket. At this time also Hodja Nefes, a Turkoman chief, arrived at Astrakhan with similar tidings about the river Oxus. On arriving at Moscow, with a proposal to the Tsar to take possession of the countries on the borders of the Oxus,

and to restore the river to its original bed, he circulated these same stories, and the Khivan envoy, who was at the Russian Court at the time, heartily confirmed them. The effect produced on Peter was such that he decided at once to despatch a military expedition, for the purpose of taking possession of Khiva for Russia, and establishing her authority over the districts on the banks of the Oxus that were reported to contain such treasures of wealth. The expedition was entrusted to the command of Bekovitch Tcherkaski, a Circassian prince. He was instructed to approach the Khan in the character of a friendly envoy, making force a last resort. He was to congratulate the Khan on his elevation to power, to explain to him that the strength of his escort was only out of due regard for the dignity of the Khan on the part of the Tsar; and when the Khan had been induced, or forced, to acknowledge Russian supremacy, he was to despatch two trade caravans, one to the Khan of Bokhárá, and the other to the Great Mogul of India. The envoy to India received special instructions from Peter. He was to go "by water as far up the Amu Daria as possible (or by other rivers which may fall into it) toward India; to inquire secretly about the river, in case progress by water was forbidden; to return, if possible, by the same route, unless it be ascertained that there is another and more convenient way by water. The water-way as well as the land route was to be carefully observed, and described in writing, and to be mapped; to notice the merchandise, particularly aromatic herbs and other articles that are exported from India, to examine into, and write an account of, all other matters which, though not mentioned here, may concern the interests of the Empire." The order was given by Peter himself to Lieutenant Kojin, who was to lead the mission. But the lieutenant was ill-disposed towards Bekovitch, whom he even accused of wishing "to deliver the Russian troops into the hands of the barbarians." He was therefore recalled, court-martialled, and imprisoned at St. Petersburg, and Bekovitch was commanded by the

Tsar to send Murza Tevkelef in the place of Kojin, with instructions to proceed to India by way of Persia, and to return to Russia through China and Bokhárá. Bekovitch left Astrakhan June, 1717. His force consisted of 3,500 men, six guns, 200 camels, and 300 horses. He arrived at the Khivan oasis in August of the following year, but falling into a trap treacherously laid for the expedition by the Khan, himself and his officers were killed and mutilated, and his troops were either massacred or sold into slavery. So ended this ill-fated expedition.

But while Peter was looking at the distant field of India, he did not forget his Persian neighbour. Two considerations prompted this solicitude; one was the advantage that Persian trade—which was by no means inconsiderable, especially in silk—would be to Russia, if she could only succeed in getting a share of it. The second consideration was, that Persia was an “excellent road to India.” To secure these two points Peter resorted to diplomacy. He sent Ispahan on an embassy to the Shah, to entreat his permission in allowing the Armenian trade in silk to pass through Russia. The Shah signed a treaty permitting Russian merchants to trade wherever they desired, and to deal in raw silk in his country with perfect freedom. But the Ambassador on his return assured his master that force would accomplish more than diplomacy. A pretext accordingly was soon found for letting loose upon Persia the bloodhounds of war, and in 1722 a large Russian army having been mobilised at Astrakhan under Peter’s personal command, advanced against Derbent, and without difficulty obtained possession of that city. Peter then returned to Astrakhan for winter quarters, but operations were continued under his lieutenant who, in the following July, captured Baku; and two months later a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg by the representative of the unfortunate Shah Tamasp, ceding Mazanderan, Ghilan, and Astrabad to Russia.

As showing how fully the Tsar appreciated the value of his conquest as a road-way to India, the following conver-

sation, reported as having passed between him and one of his officers, about the relative advantages of the Cape of Good Hope and Central Asia, is significant. "Have you ever been in the Gulf of Astrabad?" the monarch asked. "You must know then that those mountains" (pointing to the heights on the shore of the Caspian) "extend to Astrabad, and that from there to Balkh and Badakshan with pack camels is only a twelve days' journey, and on that road to India no one can interfere with us."

We now deal with what may be called the *documentary* evidence. There are three documents of importance, the first being of remarkable interest, since it constitutes the first known scheme for a Russian invasion of India through the Khanates. The occasion of the scheme was the formation by England of a league with Prussia and Holland for the preservation of the Turkish Empire, and the forcing of the Empress Catherine II. of Russia to conclude peace with the Porte. The object of the Russian scheme was to impose a check on the aggressive power which the maritime superiority of England then enabled her to exert against Russia. The plan of operation which the Prince of Nassau Siegen proposed to the Empress Catherine, was to march an army through Bokhárá and Cashmere to Bengal. On reaching Indian soil a manifesto was to be published, declaring the intention of the Empress to re-establish the Great Mogul on the throne of India. The scheme is said to have received the favourable notice of Catherine, but it was derided by the General Potemkin.

This brings us to the second documentary evidence. The dawn of the present century found the rest of Europe struggling, as if with the last relics of her strength, to escape the coils in which Napoleon strove to crush her into a mere appendage of France. England alone, outside the loops of the deadly constrictors, waged a mortal combat against the implacable foe.

In the heat of the conflict—Irish dangers being quiescent—the chronicles of naval warfare were enriched by the victories of St. Vincent, Camperdown, and the Nile. Pitt

sought once more through the Coalition he had formed the previous year (1799) with Austria and Russia, to overthrow the dictator and tyrant of Europe. But the disasters suffered by Russia in Central Europe, and the failure of the Anglo-Russian expedition to Holland, drew from the Emperor Paul an angry remonstrance, followed by his sullen abstention from further participation in the war. This was Napoleon's opportunity, and, with the skill of a fox, he utilised it to the fullest extent. By diplomacy he succeeded in persuading Paul into the belief that England was the common enemy of Europe. The Tsar, on the ground that he had been elected Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, had put forward a claim to the ownership of the island of Malta.

Bonaparte, besides liberating all the Russian prisoners without exchange, and endorsing the friendly sentiments of the Tsar, had offered to hand over Malta to Russia, whereas England, who had just captured the island, refused to deliver it up to Paul.

It was at this juncture that the second scheme, which was a joint undertaking between Russia and France to invade India, was planned. The invasion in which the two allies were to co-operate was to have been carried out by means of two distinct columns. One of the armies was to consist of 35,000 French, and the other of 35,000 Russians. The line of route for the French was down the Danube; they were then to be transported across the Black Sea to Taganrog in Russian ships, whence they were to proceed up the Don as far as Piaty-Isbanskaia; they were to cross the Volga at Izaritsin, descend that river to Astrakhan, then re-embark on the Caspian in Russian boats, and proceed to Astrabad, where they would be joined by the Russian army of 35,000 men. The combined force was to have been under the command of Massena, and their line of march was to be through Khorassan, Herat, Forah, and Kandahar to the Indies.

On June 24, 1801, the following orders were issued by the Emperor Paul to Orloff-Denisoff, the Ataman of the

Don Cossacks. "The English are preparing for an attack by land and sea against me and my allies, the Swedes and Danes; I am ready to receive them. But it is necessary to be beforehand with them, and to attack them on their most vulnerable point, and on the side where they least expect it. It is three months' march from Orenburg to Hindustan, and it takes another month to get from the encampments of the Don to Orenburg, making in all four months. To you and your armies I confide this expedition. Assemble therefore your men, and begin your march to Orenburg. Thence, by whichever of the three routes you prefer, or by all, you will go straight with your artillery to Bokhárá, Khiva, the river Indus, and then the English settlements in India. The troops of the country are light troops like yours; you will therefore have over them all the advantage of your artillery. Prepare everything for this campaign; send your scouts to reconnoitre and repair the roads. All the wealth of India shall be your recompense. . . . Such an enterprise will cover you with immortal glory, will secure you my good-will in proportion to your services, will load you with riches, give an opening to our commerce, and strike the enemy a mortal blow. I send you maps, as many as I have, and remain your well-wisher,—PAUL."

There were other orders issued to Orloff-Denisoff, but this one may be taken as a fair sample of them all. Napoleon appears to have had misgivings about the practicability of the enterprise, for we have him asking after this manner: "Supposing the combined army be united at Astrabad, how do you suppose that it should get to India through countries almost barbarous, and without any resources; having to march a distance of three hundred leagues from Astrabad to the frontiers of Hindustan?"

Paul, of course, was quite equal to the emergency, and he replied with an equanimity of mind that would certainly have reassured the credulous.

The expedition started from Orenburg in the depth of



winter with 22,000 Cossacks, and two companies of horse artillery. The Volga was crossed with extreme difficulty, and the expedition had proceeded some 450 miles when news reached the Ataman of the sudden death of the Tsar. On the following day Alexander I. was proclaimed Tsar, and peremptory orders were issued recalling the expedition.

The third of these documents consists of two schemes prepared at the time of the Crimean War. One of the two documents was drawn up by General Duhamel, and presented to Nicholas I. in 1854, and it runs thus: "When, towards the close of the last century, an army corps was quartered on the Eastern borders, by order of the Tsar Paul, for the purpose of attacking India, the English people, although not certain of the fact, were greatly startled when they received report of the concentration. Since then British writers have never ceased to point out in various ways the dangers of a possible Russian invasion of India, and their Parliament has often discussed the question. The present war, which is to be fought out to the bitter end, imposes on Russia the duty of showing how she can attack England in her only vulnerable point in India, and thus force her to assemble so great a force in Asia as to weaken her action in Europe. History teaches us that nearly all the Powers which conquered India found their way to it through Central Asia and Persia, and that the roads by which Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Baber, and finally Nadir Shah, broke into India are still open. They traverse Khorassan and Afghanistan, whether they lead from Persia or from the river Oxus. The cities of Kandahar and Kabul are the gates of India. The first route leads from Orenburg over the Ust-Yurt plateau to Khiva, and thence through Merv and Herat to Kandahar and Kabul. The second goes from Orsk or Orenburg to Fort Aralsk, and thence to Bokhárá, Balkh, Khulm, and Kabul. The third leads from Orsk or Troitska, through Aralsk and Ak-Michet to Tashkent; or goes direct to Petro-paulovsk, and thence on to Khokand, Khulm, Bamain, and Kabul. The fourth

is by water from Astrakhan to Astrabad, and thence, through Kabushan (Kushan) or Shahrud, to Meshed, Herat, Kandahar, and Kabul. The fifth and last route leads from the frontier on the river Araxes to Tabriz, Teheran, Meshed, Herat, Kandahar, and Kabul.

"The first three roads lead through the desert where it is wildest, and by these, even if the oases of Khiva and Bokhárá were made use of, many thousands of camels would be required for transport purposes. The last two routes lead through a country where there are no deserts, and which in some places is very fertile, and is inhabited by a sturdy race of people. These two lines of advance do not traverse any such inaccessible points as are met with in the Hindu-Kush Mountains, nor are there impassable rivers, such as the Oxus, between Bokhárá and Balkh. When once the necessary transport vessels are collected on the Caspian Sea, then the Astrakhan-Astrabad line is to be preferred to all the others, for it is the shortest. Once in the Astrabad, a footing in Khorassan can easily be obtained, and the remaining distance to Kabul is only 1,870 versts. The infantry, guns, and ammunition would be carried across the Caspian Sea, while the cavalry and train would march from Circassia through Persia.

"A march through Turkistan would be a dangerous operation, for the Khans and their tribes would have to be fought, and even when defeated they would attack our rear, and thus cut our communications. The march through half-civilised Persia would, however, be comparatively easy, for that State is so bound by treaties as to be incapable of offering any serious opposition, and is, moreover, threatened from all sides (especially from Circassia), and thus rendered powerless. What more, then, can be wanted? Active co-operation on the part of Persia involves active co-operation on the part of Afghanistan, on account of the deadly hatred which exists between the two peoples; and this is the condition *sine quâ non* of an attack on Hindustan. . . .

"Naturally England would take steps to prevent all this ;

but even if she had time and means for despatching an expedition to the Persian Gulf, and occupied the island of Karrack and Bunder Bushire, or raised up a rebellion among the tribes of Southern Persia, it would be of little avail if Russia guaranteed to the Shah the secure possession of his throne and dominions; and still less should she promise the restoration of the Turkish provinces of Baghdad, Kerseldi, and a part of Kurdistan, thereby kindling a war between Persia and Turkey. The route through Persia is therefore, for many reasons, to be preferred to those through Turkistan.

“ There are three roads from Afghanistan to India : (1) from Kabul, through Jalalabad and Peshawar, to Attock ; (2) from Ghaznito Dehra Ismail Khan ; (3) from Kandahar, through Quetta and Dadur to Shikarpur. These three roads lead through defiles which are easily defended, but which are more exposed to a successful attack from the west than from the east. The best, shortest, and most healthy, is the first ; although in 1839 the English adopted the third. From Attock it is easier to reach Lahore and Delhi, which are the principal objectives. The selection of this route would give rise to a rebellion in the very heart of the English possessions, and cause all the Mohammedan races to rise against them. This line also offers to the Afghans the most tempting prospects of plunder, and extension of territory. If the Sikhs were also won over, so much the better, but the friendship of the Afghans is of the most vital importance. Once this is gained all is won ; for we invade India not to make conquests, but to overthrow the English, or at all events to weaken England's power. To effect this but a small force is required to form the nucleus of the attacking force, round which all the conquered races would gather, and which might even be gradually reduced, as a general rebellion brought fresh recruits to the invading army.”

The question to be asked about these three memoranda is, do they represent a settled policy, or are they the products of exceptional and transitory conditions ?

One thing noticeable about them is, that they are all measures of retaliation. Catherine was doubtless bent upon seizing more of Turkish territory, and from this England, aided by Prussia and Holland, compelled her to desist, and even to make peace with the adversary. Naturally she was highly indignant at the interference; and the invasion of India was brought to her notice as a means of retaliation for the affront.

The Emperor Paul also had been disappointed at the results of the wars in which his own troops had taken part. He was disappointed and offended because Malta was not handed over to him; so that in his mind the fuel was already laid to which Napoleon so dexterously applied the match. With energy Paul entered on the work of reprisal against the country which he believed had been the cause of his offence and disappointment.

Again, the two schemes laid before Nicholas I., at the breaking out of the Crimean War, one by General Duhamel, and the other by General Khruleff of similar import, are no less conspicuous in their retaliative character.

Another no less noteworthy feature common to these documents is their lack of what may be described as official support. They cannot be spoken of as measures of the Russian Government.

The first project was merely submitted to the Empress Catherine by Prince Nassau Siegen. And while General Potemkin derided it, Catherine is said to have approved it. But nothing was done to give it effect.

The third scheme did not emanate from the Russian Court, but from the Russian Minister in Persia, and no Court action was taken upon it.

The second scheme was indeed devised or accepted by the Emperor Paul, but neither the tragic end of the originator, nor the haste with which his son and successor annulled it, showed that the idea of Indian invasion was favourably entertained by the Russian Government, or the Russian people.

Taking into account, therefore, the exceptional character of each of these documents, and also the fact that they were never endorsed by the Russian Government, there appears to be no reason based on the documentary evidence that is at command, for assuming that the invasion of India is a part of Russia's policy.

#### THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN CENTRAL ASIA.

How far is the Russian advance in Central Asia a contribution to the belief that one of the objects of that Empire is the invasion of British India?

As in antiquity so in modern times, some races show a stronger proclivity for expansion than others. Pre-eminent among modern nations who possess this characteristic is the Anglo-Saxon race. It seems doubtful, however, whether the British race would have surpassed the Russian Slavs in this respect, if the latter for two centuries had not been incarcerated in the dungeon of Mongol rule. But whatever be the opinion on this point, it will be readily conceded that no nation shows a stronger tendency, in the direction in which the British have exhibited such exceptional capacity, than the Russian nation. An inherent manifestation of this power of expansion is its *irrepressibility*. There is vitality in nations as well as in persons; and the vitality or principle which evolves a giant from a single cell is the same, intensified, that evolves an Empire from a collection of hamlets.

A great stream is often impeded in its course. Sometimes the land narrows its passage into a gorge, at other times it widens it into the proportions of a lake—both extremes obstructing its flow. Or it may throw great boulders, or massive rocks, or even islands, in its path, but nevertheless, the stream will eventually reach the sea. So with the growth of National Evolution; it may be obstructed from within or from without; from within by misgovernment, rebellion, revolt or revolution; or from without, by wars, invasions, defeat, subjugation, and other

evils, but, owing to its vitality and irrepressibility, it will ultimately reach the sea of its destiny. The destiny of the patriarch Jacob was the progenitorship of the Hebrew race, but in responding to the law of his destiny he practised deception and falsehood, and for these offences he was punished, yet he ultimately reached the goal. So nations of great power of expansion, in obeying the laws of their destiny, may disregard or violate moral laws, and then are punished, but they will reach at last the place appointed by destiny. To attempt the repression of such nations is equivalent to an attempt to extinguish a flame by enveloping it with a dry linen sheet, or to check the flow of the Amazon by means of a stockade. This is our view of one of the great and important characteristics of the natural laws that operate in certain races. Viewing this law of expansion in its relation to Russia's advance in Central Asia, we must bear in mind two things : the time when that advance began ; and the directions which it took.

#### THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN MOVEMENTS IN NORTHERN ASIA.

Intercourse between European and Asiatic Russia (Siberia) began in the eleventh century, through Novgorodian merchants, and it was followed by the commencement of Russian conquest in that region in 1580. In that year Yermak, and his robber band of Cossacks, subdued the Tartars on the banks of the River Tobol ; and within the next eighty years after this conquest the coasts of the sea of Okhotsk, on the Pacific, were reached by the Cossacks. In 1643-1650 they took possession of the Amur, but were compelled by the Chinese, in 1649, to evacuate their settlements. The estuary of the Amur was discovered in 1849, and a military post was established at the mouth of the river in 1851. The left bank of the Amur, and the right bank of the Usuri, were annexed in 1853-1857. "A chain of villages was built along both rivers, and the 'accomplished fact' was recognised by China in 1857-

1860." The first circumnavigation of Asia was, however, not accomplished until 1878-1879, when Nordenskjöld, on board the *Vesa*, sailed through the Arctic Ocean; wintered on the Siberian Coast; entered the Behring Straits the next spring; and returned to Sweden *viâ* the Japanese and Chinese Seas, the Indian Ocean and the Suez Canal.

#### THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN ASIA.

The relations of Russia with Central Asia began in the same century that marked the beginning of her conquest in the North (Siberia). In the year 1557, "Ambassadors from the Khan arrived at the Russian Court to seek permission to trade with Russia; and similar missions visited Moscow in 1563, 1566, and 1583. In 1589 the great Abdullah, Khan of Bokhárá, sent an embassy to Moscow for the purpose of obtaining the friendship of Tsar Feodor Ivanovitch." "In 1620 the Tsar Michael made a fresh attempt to open up a trade route to Central Asia, and sent an embassy under Ivan Khokhloff to the Khan of Bokhárá." "Two years after the despatch of this embassy to Bokhárá, diplomatic relations were also entered into with Afghanistan and the Khan of Khiva." "In 1664 the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch sent an embassy to the Court of Shah Abbas II. of Persia. The filthy habits of the Muscovites, however, utterly disgusted the Persian monarch, who called them the 'Usbegs of the Franks'; and when it was discovered that the object of the mission was solely for the purpose of trade, and that the Russians had adopted the guise of Ambassadors to evade the payment of dues, the Shah became incensed, and summarily expelled them from the country." These paragraphs, taken from "Russia's March towards India," are sufficient for our purpose, inasmuch as they inform us concerning the matters with which we are immediately concerned, viz., the time and the direction of Russia's start in Asia. The time was the sixteenth century, and the directions were towards the North and South Central.

## THE COMMENCEMENT OF ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA.

The Presidencies of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, which represent the rise of British rule in India, were founded in the seventeenth century, during the reign of Charles I., the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II. The records of British India begin with the seventeenth century. The facts, therefore, are that Russia's commercial relations with Asia (Siberia) commenced some six centuries before the English went to India; and that her political and commercial connections with Central Asia began half a century before the English reached India. Before the English went to India, Russia's political and commercial relations with those places in Central Asia where her presence now occasions alarm, had already been fully established. Looked at, therefore, from the standpoint of its early beginning, or its activity, this so-called Russian advance in Central Asia has nothing in it that is either novel or abnormal.

Before taking leave of this part of our subject, allusion should be made to the able and exhaustive article by Sir Charles Dilke, from which we have made an extract. That article was suggested by a book which Sir Charles thus commends. "A most able work upon 'Russia and England in Central Asia,' published in Paris, and signed 'N. H. L.' A work which may be looked on as almost Russian, and which is filled with a bitter anti-English spirit. Written before the St. Petersburg settlement was arrived at, it contains these prophetic words: 'Although most probably the Central Asian question will, after the work of delimitation has been accomplished, enter for a time on a period of appeasement, there is every reason to foresee that the arrangement will have but a very limited duration.'"

"The writer puts out of sight the idea of an Afghan buffer, under English protection, on the ground that Russia will insist that Afghanistan shall be kept free from internal disorders, a responsibility which it is beyond our



power to undertake. He then states that Russia would reject such a project, and he sums up his views by declaring that Russia intends for the present to organise her newly-annexed territories with a view to ultimate attack upon us."

"Desirous of consolidating her new territories, Russia will wait until events make England powerless to cause her guarantee to be respected. England will be at the orders of the Ameer, the Ameer being unable to allow foreigners to garrison his country even for the purpose of protecting him."

"The writer then points out that 'plundering expeditions will be carried on between Afghan and Russian territories, and that we shall be unable to prevent these raids, but we shall be held responsible for them; and that Russia will always have a most excellent *casus belli* when she might need it, even if she does not tire out our patience in advance, and cause us to repudiate our responsibility for the valley of Herat. The writer points out that Russia will choose her moment. As she selected the height of the Franco-German war to destroy those portions of the Treaty of Paris which she most disliked, and as she selected for her last advance the moment of the fall of Khartoum, and the retreat of the Mahdi, and the period of the disagreeable speeches of Prince Bismarck about England's colonial policy, so she will choose her next occasion equally well.'"

These extracts are pervaded, we admit, with a distinct tone of unfriendliness towards England; but to regard them as the sentiment of the Russian Government, and as such, a menace to British India, seems to be a somewhat exaggerated deduction. Really hostile designs on the part of the Russian Government would be involved in secrecy as a necessary condition to their success. They would not get inscribed on the pages of a book for England's enlightenment.

An unknown authority, professing to be the spokesman of the Russian Government and people, refers to an

attack on India as a project held in reserve by Russia; but a leading organ of the Russian Press is not behind in dissociating the Russian Government from such an intention. The remarks of the *Novoe Vremya* of December 30, 1898, reported in the *Times* of January 3, 1899, bears out the latter part of this statement. Discussing the Anglo-Russian problem of Afghanistan and Persia, in connection with the proposal for uniting the Russian Central Asian Railway, just extended from Merv to the Kushk, with the North-western line of India, which could probably be prolonged to Chaman, through Kandahar and Herat, to the Russian frontier; it remarks that the largest share of the benefits accruing from such a joint undertaking between England and Russia would be reaped by England, and that Russia's advantages could only be two, of which one would be the opportunity given for striking India. The *Novoe Vremya* adds, "But Russia only requires a southern outlet to the ocean, and does not wish to invade India."

The three supports for the idea that Russia still contemplates the invasion of India—(1) The will of Peter the Great; (2) The Documentary Evidence; and (3) Russia's advance in Central Asia, are therefore manifestly inadequate to sustain such an apprehension. Then we have come within sight of the answer to the question, whether the presence of Russia in China is a menace to British India. The Russian conquest of Siberia, and, in Turkistan, her absorption of Turkish and Persian territories; the rights won by her arms over the Caspian and Black Seas, the Danube, and the Dardanelles, and now, her position in China, is as the progress of gangrene over devitalised tissue. It is an exemplification of the "living and dying nation" theory. The chief point for us to notice is, that the course of this disease—gangrene—is arrested when it touches the territory of healthy or living tissue; and there is proof to show that this is the law by which Russian Asiatic conquest has always been regulated. In her advance in North-east Asia the Chinese were naturally alarmed,

“and when the first Russian Embassy visited Peking, in 1656, it met with a very cold reception. Some years afterwards the Chinese Emperor Kanghi sent a force to subdue Galdan, the Dzungarian prince, whose pretensions were beginning to imperil the very existence of the Manchu dynasty ; and whilst the force was so engaged, the Russians, taking advantage of the dispute between the Chinese and Dzungarians, built some forts on the upper waters of the Amur, of which the chief were Albazin and Astrog, and in this way the first conflict between Russia and China was precipitated. The Emperor Kanghi viewed the existence of these forts as a standing menace and insult to his authority ; and as soon, therefore, as Galdan had been defeated, he ordered his troops to attack and demolish the objectionable Russian outposts. Albazin was captured and destroyed, the other forts in the neighbourhood shared the same fate, and all traces of the first Muscovite settlements on the Amur were obliterated.

But a fresh war soon broke out between Galdan and the Chinese, and the Russians were for a while left undisturbed in their efforts to retrieve their shattered fortunes in East Siberia. Albazin was rebuilt, and rose from its ruins stronger and more capable of resisting a siege. As soon as the Chinese had once again settled their differences with the Dzungarians, an army marched against the Russians. The first attack was repulsed, but Kanghi sent such large reinforcements that the Russians, finding themselves completely outnumbered, signed the Treaty of Nipchu, in 1689, whereby the fertile regions of the Amur were restored to the Chinese. Thus the Russians were seriously checked in their advance towards the Pacific, and for the next century and a half they were shut out from all communication with the eastern shores of Asia.

At another time we find the Sultan of Turkey, by means of a threat only, compelling Peter the Great to abandon his aggressive schemes, south of the Caucasus, and to make arrangements with him by which all the Persian provinces that were not in the hands of the Afghans were to be

divided between the two States. Thus as living or healthy tissue checks the advance of gangrene, so China and Turkey, living and healthy, checked the advance of Russia. Russian policy is not to invade, so to speak, healthy tissue, but dying or dead tissue; hence her presence in China is not, we believe, a menace to the Indian Peninsula. Our real danger may be in the West rather than the East. Sir Charles Dilke and Sir H. Rawlinson have been quoted as sharing in the apprehension of a threatened invasion of India by Russia. We will dismiss this part of our subject, by quoting two equally eminent authorities who did not share in this alarmist view. One was the late Mr. Gladstone, and the other his Grace the Duke of Argyle. Speaking in the House of Commons on one occasion Mr. Gladstone said, "I myself do not in the least, or in any wise, fear Russia's territorial aggrandisement, indeed I regard all such talk as old women's tales." In his work, "*The Eastern Question*," The Duke of Argyle wrote, "We ought not to regret Russia's progress in Asia, as it is of service to the interests of humanity."

#### ENGLAND'S EFFORTS TO ARREST RUSSIAN ADVANCE.

What, then, has been done by Great Britain in order to arrest the progress of Russia towards India?

As early as the end of last century, in order to frustrate the aims of the French, under General Bonaparte, concerning India, and considering Persia as the road to India, the Marquess of Wellesley, then Governor-General, opened negotiation with Persia, and in 1800, by his representative, Captain Malcolm, a defensive and offensive alliance was concluded, by which the two contracting Powers agreed to act conjointly against a French army in Persia. The ill-fortune that overtook the French in Egypt was thought to have lessened the imminent danger, so that, for a time, there was a relaxation of effort. But the British ministry were so alarmed by the plan of the Tsar Paul for the invasion of India; by the Russo-Persian war of 1804-6, in conse-

quence of which Persia, notwithstanding the Anglo-Persian alliance, had to cede to Russia some of her provinces, including Baku ; and by the opening of negotiations between Napoleon, Alexander I., and the Shah of Persia, for an expedition to India, that they despatched Sir Harford Jones on a mission to Persia. At the same time, Lord Minto, who was Governor-General of India, despatched also a deputy to the Persian Court. General Malcolm, the Governor-General's nominee, arrived first, and by the free use of bribes, to which there was great susceptibility in Persia, he sought to advance his mission. But General Gardanne so paralysed Malcolm's influence, by the hopes he held out to the Persians that, through the intervention of the Emperor Napoleon, their lost provinces would be restored, that Malcolm felt himself obliged to leave Persia. Immediately after his departure, Sir Harford Jones, who had been awaiting with some impatience the result of the mission, arrived at Bushire. He was able to offer Persia from the King of England protection against Russia ; and as the belief by this time had arisen at Teheran that the assistance which the French could give would be unimportant, the offer of England was accepted. The journey of Sir Harford Jones from Bushire to Teheran was an ovation ; and his influence increased in the proportion that General Gardanne's decreased. The latter had left before the arrival of the former, and the negotiations proceeded with such rapidity that by March 12, 1809, a preliminary arrangement was agreed to. By the provisions of this agreement Persia engaged to oppose the progress of any foreign army towards India. England, on her part, engaged to support Persia against any European Power ; to this end she was to place an army at the Shah's disposal until the enemy was expelled, with war material, officers, and a proportionate subsidy. In pursuance of this agreement English officers were sent out by the British Government to drill the Shah's soldiers.

Shortly after a war broke out between Russia and Persia, and it was led, on the side of the Persians, by English

officers. The Persians at first gained several victories, but in the end the war was unfavourable to Persia. In 1812, there was a reconciliation between England and Russia, upon which the British officers were recalled ; and on the 12th of October, 1813, through the mediation of England, a treaty of peace between Russia and Persia was signed at Gulistan, on the river Siewa. By that treaty Persia surrendered Grusia, Imeritia, Mingrelia, Shekee, Shirwan, Derbend, &c. The new frontier-line between the two countries was now determined by the Araxes for the greater part of its course. In addition to all this, Persia renounced her right to keep ships of war on the Caspian Sea. And so, for the second time since the signing of the treaty for a defensive and offensive alliance between Persia and England, twelve years before, England's aid proved unavailing to succour Persia against Russia's rapacity.

Naturally, this reckless amputation of Persian territory by Russia did not predispose the Shah to attach finality to the treaty of Gulistan ; and therefore, not long after its ratification, another treaty was concluded by Persia with Sir Gore Ouseley, as the English Ambassador Extraordinary, in November, 1814, on the basis of the preliminary agreement of 1809. By this second treaty Persia engaged to obstruct the passage of any European army marching against India through her territory, and for the same end to use her influence with Khiva, Bokhárá, and Khokand. Henceforth, "the limits of the two States of Russia and Persia were to be determined according to the admission of Great Britain, Persia, and Russia." The two countries also bound themselves to render each other mutual support in the event of war. And England, on her side, instead of supplying an army, agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 200,000 tomans (£83,000 sterling). On the other hand, in the event of war between England and Afghanistan, Persia was to place an army at the disposal of England ; and in a Perso-Afghan war, England engaged not to interfere actively, but to use her good offices at the request of both belligerents.

The conclusion of this treaty in 1814 opened the way to a further strengthening of English influence in Persia. That influence was utilised in raising the military strength of Persia by the English officers who were sent out to discipline the Persian troops. Arsenals were also built, and general precautions taken to place the country on a sound defensive footing. Under these circumstances great deference was paid to the English by the Persians. The Prince Royal was particularly partial to the English language, and Persia showed many tokens of respect towards England. The effect of all these events and incidents upon Russia was to kindle her jealousy to a white heat. Her anger against Persia was manifested in contemptuous treatment, and at the same time by an endeavour to inveigle the Shah into warlike operations, by urging him to seize Herat. As Persia declined to accept the proposal, on the ground that compliance would incur England's enmity, Russia started a controversy with Persia, that ended in war. Hostilities broke out in 1826, and terminated in 1828 with the Peace of Turkmantchai, by which Persia was compelled to cede to her great antagonist the Khanates of Erivan and Nachitchevan, besides paying an indemnity of 5,000,000 tomans, or 20,000,000 roubles. Thus, for the third time in the brief space of twenty-four years, and under the ægis of an offensive and defensive alliance with England, Persia was despoiled of her territory by Russia.

Being now quite satisfied that an alliance with England was more ornamental than useful, Persia transferred her sympathies from England to Russia, with the result that English influence in Persia speedily declined. England, availing herself of Persia's financial straits, purchased her release from further payments of subsidies by a single deposit of 200,000 tomans, a transaction that did not tend to increase Persia's regard for England. Russia's influence since 1828 has become predominant at Teheran.

Leaving Persia, England now resolved to substitute for Persia, Afghanistan, and the Khanates of Khiva, Bokhárá,

and Khokand, as barriers to Russia's advance in Asia. The conditions which determined this choice on the part of British statesmen were, the presence of extensive deserts, obstructing the way to India. Also the presence of warlike inhabitants dwelling in those deserts. Statesmen argued that, if these tribes could be brought into something like homogeneity, and we would enter into offensive as well as defensive alliances with them, by furnishing them with arms, ammunition, and instructors, they could be formed into an invulnerable bastion in the way of Russia. Following out these ideas, the English agents who were appointed strove, as regards the Khanates, to attain these results; but the impracticability of the task was brought home to them, and to the British Nation, by demonstrations of which one of the most tragic was the beheading of Stoddart and Conolly—two English agents—in 1840, by the Ameer of Bokhára.

At this period Russia's frontier was very distant from Afghanistan, and that country was wholly within the sphere of English influence. England therefore sought to cultivate closer relations, but in Afghanistan the elements of cohesion were less potent than in Persia. It was a medley of ill-assorted Khanates, such as Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Balkh, &c., which the genius and energy of Dost Mahommed first succeeded in bringing into a closer bond at the beginning of the second quarter of the present century.

According to Russian statements, the Afghans are divided into five races, which again are sub-divided into four hundred and five tribes, each of which is split up into numerous families. "Individual tribes revolt from time to time, as was the case with the Ghilzais in 1887, hence it is apparent that the idea of making Afghanistan a barrier to Russia's advance was impracticable." Russia now appeared to have used her influence with Persia, in order to make the Shah a medium for meddling with affairs in Afghanistan. The possession of Herat, a project that was near to the Shah's heart, and which, during the domination in Persia, England restrained him from undertaking, was now held



out to Persia by Russia as a tempting morsel that she should not let slip. Indeed, in 1832 the English agent arrested the movements of a Persian expedition against Herat. But the very next year, under the command of the Heir Apparent, the attempt was repeated. The death of Shah Abbas Mirza placed a check upon the operations of the expedition, and so the siege was raised, but not without a vow being made by the leader that he would return again. This he did in 1838, when the defence of Herat was in the charge of English officers, and the Persians were defeated. This invasion on the part of Persia, together with the defeat of the Sikhs of Dost Mahommed, caused the English to despatch Lieut. Burnes as resident at the Court of Kabul. But the suspension of negotiations then proceeding between Dost Mahommed and Russia being refused by the Ameer, a resolution was come to by the British Government, to replace the ex-King Shah Shujah on the throne of Kabul. On this issue the first Afghan war broke out in January, 1839. In a short time almost the whole of Afghanistan fell before the British force, and Shah Shujah was duly installed.

But in 1841 a revolution broke out, Shah Shujah was dethroned, and the garrison, numbering nearly 4,500 persons, with nearly three times that number of camp-followers, perished miserably in the mountain passes between Kabul and Jalalabad. The year following, this terrible event was avenged, and the British troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan.

For some years after this England kept quite aloof from the affairs of Afghanistan, but ultimately she became reconciled to Dost Mahommed, the Ameer, and engaged to pay him an annual subsidy of £200,000 sterling.

Central Asia and Persia are not the only regions in which England has tried to restrict the movements of Russia. Asia Minor has also been used by her for this purpose. The last and memorable occasion, to which references have been made, was the Crimean War. We will therefore refer more in detail to this memorable struggle.

The Crimean War, which began in 1854, and lasted until 1856, was fought on the one side by Russia, and on the other by the allied forces of France, England, Turkey and Sardinia, on the peninsula of South Russia which is known as the Crimea. The dispute, which originated between Russia and Turkey, was ostensibly about the guardianship of the Holy Places, especially the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; but in reality the cause of the war was twofold. In the first place, through misrule and decay, Turkey, the old enemy of Russia, was becoming more and more unfit to govern the Christian populations whom she had conquered, while Russia, which was allied, both by blood and language, to these Christian Turkish States, was anxious to throw around them the arm of her protection. In the next place, and this is over and above the first in its importance, Russia was desirous to extend her territory to the Dardanelles, and to find a vent for her commerce in the Mediterranean.

Turkey was described by the Emperor Nicholas as "a sick man dying." This generous ruler, anxious to end the agonies of impending dissolution, resolved to call in the use of the scalpel; but not being allowed by the instincts of his magnanimous nature to appropriate the entire cadaver, he unselfishly thought of his neighbours, and accordingly drew up a plan, by which the Danubian extremities of Servia and Bulgaria were to become principalities under the Suzerainty of Russia; Egypt and Candia were to be occupied by England; and the trunk, Constantinople, was to be occupied neither by Russia, England, France, nor Greece. This scheme was, however, jeopardised by two opposing forces, one being the Emperor of the French, who, for the sake of giving stability to his throne, had betaken himself to the war-path; and the other, the British Ambassador at Constantinople—Sir Stratford Canning—who was an enemy to Russia.

The co-operation of these two forces served to extinguish those sparks of Imperial generosity in the floods of the

Crimean War. On the 1st of November war was declared, and on the 30th the destruction of the Turkish fleet by the Russians was effected in the harbour of Sinope. The British Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, had spent much energy in attempts to preserve peace, whereas Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, threatened to resign his office unless drastic measures were resorted to against Russia. In this way the country drifted on into the rapids of the Crimean War. On the 27th of February, 1854, an ultimatum was sent by the British Government, declaring that unless the Russian troops retired behind the River Pruth before the end of April, it would be considered a declaration of war. No reply was vouchsafed, and so the war proceeded. Austria and Prussia entered into the covenant of an offensive and defensive alliance, by which the territories of the allied parties, in case of an attack, were to be mutually defended. The forces of the two nations were also put in readiness for war. The alliance between England and France was signed on April the 10th.

Russia could only be attacked at her extremities ; and England could only operate by sea ; hence the places for attack between the belligerents were but few. A fleet, under Admiral Napier, sailed into the Baltic, but achieved very little of the success that was expected of it. On September the 14th the allied forces landed in the Crimea. They consisted of 24,000 English, 22,000 French, and 8,000 Turks. Their object was to capture the powerful fortress of Sevastopol, which had recently been constructed at great expense by Russia. On September 20th the Russians were defeated by the arms of the allied Powers at the passage of Alma.

"It might have been possible to have taken Sevastopol by a *coup de main*, but it was thought more prudent to besiege it from the south. A brilliant flank march was executed, and the harbour of Balaclava was occupied by the English as a base of operations. On October 25th the battle of Balaclava was fought, and it was signalled

by the famous charge of the Six Hundred light cavalry upon the Russian guns, and the far more effective charge of the heavy cavalry, under General Scarlett. On November 5th the English troops were attacked in the early morning by large masses of Russians, and held their ground with great steadiness until the afternoon. This was the battle of Inkerman, in which the British loss was 2,612 killed and wounded ; and the Russians are said to have lost 12,000." The severity of the winter sorely tried the troops. Notwithstanding the heroic devotion of Miss Florence Nightingale, the hospital accommodation proved insufficient, and the commissariat department completely collapsed. This roused a storm of indignation in England, and Lord Aberdeen was succeeded in the Premiership by Lord Palmerston.

On December 1st the allied fleet in the Baltic left for winter quarters ; and in the following March the Russian Emperor died. This reduced the prospect of peace to the slenderest strand. On April the 4th the allied fleets returned to the Baltic, and four days after the bombardment of Sevastopol was begun. After a month of incessant attacks, during which the French took Fort Mamelon, the English Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, died.

The French greatly distinguished themselves in the battle of the Tchernaya. On September the 5th a final assault was delivered, which ended in the evacuation of Sevastopol by the Russians, who retreated to the north side of the harbour. They blew up their forts as far as they were able, and left behind them their wounded.

The news of the fall of Sevastopol, which reached England on the 10th of September, was practically the end of the war.

Before the year closed negotiations, through the good offices of Austria, were opened. The "Peace of Paris" was signed on Sunday, March 20, 1856, and the last of the English troops embarked on July 12th. The English loss during the war had been 24,000 men, the French lost

63,000, and the Russians (it is reported) 500,000. By the war £41,000,000 were added to the English National Debt.

These events—the sacrifice of men and means in Persia ; the offerings of similar treasures in the wars of Afghanistan ; the massacre in cold blood of nearly 12,000 British subjects on Afghan soil ; the immolation of 24,000 English and 63,000 French, on the altars of the Crimean War—are the more outstanding forms of the efforts which were made by England to stop the progress of Russia towards India. In them the apprehension of Russia's invasion of India is seen in activity ; and they are also gifts that have been consecrated to that apprehension. Based, as that apprehension is, on the conscientious convictions of a brave, a loyal, and an enterprising people, it could hardly have had, under any circumstances, manifestations widely different from these.

And yet what has been the result of all these sacrifices ? Have they checked Russia ? In answer to this question we may repeat Lord Salisbury's despatch of March 28, 1898 : " The Russian Government have exacted from the Yamèn not merely railway concessions throughout Manchuria, and the lease of a commercial harbour at Talienwan ; they have required also that the control of Port Arthur should be ceded to them for a like term of years under similar conditions. Now Port Arthur is not a commercial harbour. . . . But though not a commercial harbour Port Arthur supplies a naval base, limited indeed in extent, but possessing great natural and artificial strength. And this, taken in connection with its strategic position, gives it an importance in the Gulf of Pechili, and therefore at Peking, upon which, in their representations to Japan at the close of the war with China, the Russian Government laid the greatest emphasis. . . . It is not because a position which can easily be made a naval arsenal of great strength has been acquired by Russia that they regret its occupation by that Power. It is because the possession, even if temporary, of this particular

position, is likely to have political consequences at Peking of great international importance."

What, then, is the result of all that has been done to check the advance of Russia in the direction of India? The result is, that Russia is at Port Arthur, and holds the balance of power in the Chinese Empire, which is conterminous with India by a frontier of 1,209 miles.

Russia's presence in China, as the dominant political Power, and as the possible, and probable, heir to the commerce of that country, demonstrates therefore the impotence of the tactics formerly employed to prevent her from reaching her destiny. It also suggests a mode of treatment less imbued with suspicion, irritation, and obstruction; and it points to changed commercial conditions in China.

## CHAPTER XI

### NEW INTERNATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS

AT the close of Mediæval and the opening of modern times, there were five maritime and commercial Powers in Europe, and they were at various stages of development. Portugal, one of the oldest and most famous of these Powers, after her great services rendered to geographical science and to commerce, began to decline in the reign of John III. (1521-1557). Spanish decline in the same century commenced with the revolt of her seven provinces in the Netherlands, 1572. Holland followed in the next century, after the Peace of Breda, 1667. France followed in the eighteenth century, after the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. Then England, the fifth of the group, entered on the inheritance of the power which had been enjoyed by them. It is worthy of a passing remark, that *war* has been the primary or direct cause of the commercial and maritime decline of each of the four nations.

From the latter half of the eighteenth century, the great realm of commerce has been transferred from the jurisdiction of a directorate of five Powers to the presidency of a single Power, viz., England. And now, after an unexampled prosperity through the advantages afforded by this almost absolute rule for more than a century, England is confronted by rivals, and they threaten to re-establish something resembling the former régime.

The rivals are at present four; one of them was a member of the former directorate, and its extraordinary vitality, resources, and frugality have made it again eligible for the place it formerly occupied. These rivals are France, America, Germany, and Russia. And Russia's presence in China points to the changed commercial conditions which these new competitors are inaugurating.

The chief feature of the new conditions, in their relation to British commerce, is the circumscription of market areas, through increased international production, and discriminative tariffs. The statesmanship of the present, as well as of the immediate future, will be successful, or will be a failure, so far as it recognises these altered conditions, and endeavours to readjust British commercial and political policies to them; or so far as it fails to recognise these conditions, and to make the necessary readjustments. If a nation acquires a territory, or a portion of a territory, where we have important trade relations, and which we also might have acquired, but neglected to acquire; and if such a nation, according to its custom, imports into its new acquisition discriminative dues, we could have no right to make war upon that nation on account of its protective policy. Any adjustment therefore that is made must be peacefully made, and it will consist mainly in taking soundings for new commercial channels. But in the selection of new channels for British trade, the experience that we are just now gaining in China will stand us in good stead. The moral of that experience seems to be this—never again build a great house on another man's land.

The question is therefore becoming a most pressing one—Is there opportunity provided *in our own Colonies* for an indefinite increase of market facilities?

We have already given, with some fulness of detail, the great Imperial inheritance of the British people, with its teeming millions of inhabitants. We saw that the surface of the globe occupied by this Colossal Empire is over 11,111,467 square miles; and that the population it accommodates is more than 385,866,837. Is there any



reasonable probability that our Colonies and Dependencies will entirely absorb the productions of British industries, and at the same time provide food for the millions of the Empire?

#### THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Some alteration of the figures which have been given will be found necessary if we are to pursue our inquiry wisely. We must take from them the territory and population representing the Sovereign State. The territorial area of the Sovereign State is represented by 120,979 square miles; and its population is 38,104,975. The second group of figures, which relates to the governed, contains 10,990,488 square miles of territory, and 347,761,862 people. We have further to consider the second of these two divisions in their political relations to the Sovereign State, or Mother Country. The Colonies have been classified under the titles of Colonies and Dependencies; but, for governing purposes, they may all be called "Colonies."

Colonies have three designations. There are (1) Crown Colonies; (2) Colonies with representative institutions, but without responsible governments; and (3) Colonies with representative institutions and responsible governments. In the first of these three classes, the Crown exercises entire control over legislation, and the administration is worked by officers under the Crown. In the second class, the Crown has only the right of veto; but the Home Government has control over the public officers. In the third, the Crown has only the power of veto, the Government having no control over public officers.

The self-governing, or Colonies which come under the third head, and of which we will speak, are those of Oceania, the Dominion of Canada, and the Cape of Good Hope. New Zealand obtained the power of responsible government in 1852; Victoria in 1854; New South Wales in 1855; South Australia in 1856; Queensland in 1859; Canada in 1867; the Cape of Good Hope in 1872; Tas-

mania in 1886; and West Australia in 1890. These Colonies have not only great areas and great natural resources, but they are, with the exception of India, the most advanced in the development and distribution of those resources. Hence they take rank amongst the most prosperous of British possessions.

Assuming favourable natural conditions, and security to life and property, and there are three essentials for making, not a relatively, but a really, prosperous colony. They are skill, capital, and population. If agriculture be the chief pursuit of the community, the farmer will have, in the first place, to buy, rent, or lease his land, or obtain a free grant from the Government. If it be forest-land, he will have to clear it. He will then furnish it with buildings. He will stock the farm; buy seeds for sowing, and machinery for cultivating and harvesting. For all the work of the farm labour will be required, and therefore wages must be paid, so that capital becomes indispensable. But if the farmer has ample capital within his reach, and yet is ignorant of the different methods of draining, and of the different preparations for manuring the land; if he has no knowledge of the weather and the seasons, the peculiarities of different soils, the management of crops, the caring for stock, the handling of labour, or market prices, his possession of much capital, and his free use of the same, will prove to be but a delusion and a snare. If along with capital there be knowledge and skill, then, whether the operations be agricultural, or mining, manufacture, or commerce, the community is duly equipped. It is this equipment of both capital and skill which has enabled the self-governing Colonies of Great Britain to attain their present measures of success.

But although supremely important, the equipment of capital and skill *alone* is not sufficient. Population is an equally important condition of success.

Applying these three tests to some of the Colonies which enjoy responsible government, viz., Canada and the Australian Colonies, it will be found that they are weak in

the last of these essentials. Contrast the population of these Colonies with their territorial areas. In order that we may appreciate the contrast, England and Wales may be brought into the comparison. It will be found that in Canada, which is twenty-nine times larger than England and Wales, the number of inhabitants occupying each square mile is 1·45, whereas in England and Wales the number of people to the square mile is 498. We have, therefore, on the one side extreme paucity, and on the other extreme density of population.

Pursuing the investigation in connection with the Australian Colonies, we obtain the following tabulated results :—

POPULATION TO THE SQUARE MILE.

New Zealand ...	...	7·11	New South Wales ...	...	4·28
Queensland ...	...	0·58	Tasmania ...	...	5·56
South Australia ...	...	0·39	Victoria ...	...	13·36
West Australia ...	...	0·14			

In three of these Colonies, Queensland, South and West Australia, the number of people to the square mile is *less than one* ; and Victoria, whose population is the largest, has only thirteen persons to the square mile.

Putting together the areas of the Australian Colonies and treating their population in a similar manner, we get as the result, *one person dwelling within each square mile*. And so, whilst in England and Wales we have 498 persons to the square mile, in Canada, which is twenty-nine times larger than England and Wales, and in Australia, which is fifty-two times larger, the number of occupants to every square mile is *one solitary individual*. Thus the balance oscillates between the points of extreme density and extreme rarity.

But a third element in the abnormality appears in connection with the Commercial relations of this country and the United States. It is the great disparity between British *Export* trade to the States, and British *Import* trade from the States. Thus, in 1893-97, the Export of British

goods to the United States has been only £142,662,535, whereas the Imports from the States into the United Kingdom, during the same period, was £444,418,761. That is to say, during these five years the excess of our Imports from America, over our Exports to America, has been on an average, £60,351,245 per annum.

And what is more is, that the increase of population in this country, and the increase of manufactures, &c., in the United States, will not tend to lessen, but rather to increase, this disparity.

These abnormal conditions then consist of a great disproportion between our Import and Export trade with America; a congestion of population in the United Kingdom; and an extreme thinness of population in our Canadian and Australian Colonies.

At the rate of a single individual per square mile, the imports of these Colonies, from 1891-96, amounted to £86,136,026; and for the same period the exports were £90,637,324. But if, say, fifteen persons instead of one person occupied each square mile, then the importing capacity of those Colonies would become £1,292,040,390 and the exporting power, £1,359,559,860.

These figures do not touch the Cape, nor the other Colonies; they are confined to Canada and Australasia. As the half of the Imports and Exports of *these* Colonies, are from and to the United Kingdom, it will be readily understood that, if sufficiently peopled, these Colonies alone could supply our Imports, which are £451,238,683, and absorb our Exports, which are £234,350,003. Obviously then, if, by means of a healthy and lively stream of emigration, relief is afforded to our population—which increases at the rate of nearly half a million a year, and exports goods per head to the value of £6 1s. 8d., whilst its imports per head are £11 3s. 3d.—we should have transformed mere consumers into producers, and thus the three elements of abnormality to which we have referred will have passed away; and an extension far outstretching what we may lose in China will have been made to our market-area.

What has been said in relation to Australia and Canada goes to show the possibilities of those Colonies alone absorbing eventually all the surplus products of our industries; and at the same time feeding us. And when we enlarge the inquiry so as to make it include our other possessions, the distance of time when such possibilities might become realities is almost brought within the range of the immediate. So that, subject to the conditions of increased emigration to, and increased population in, those Colonies—as well as other conditions to be observed concerning our tropical possessions—the answer to the question, whether there is room in our own Colonies for the increased market facilities demanded for British goods by changing commercial conditions is, that *there is room*.

Passing away from Canada and Australasia, some remarks may be made in connection with the future of our other colonial possessions. But now the scene is quite changed. In the Colonies already dealt with, the governing and the great bulk of the governed are members of the same race. They have had the same opportunities, made the same attainments, and dwelt in latitudes wherein, with unfettered freedom, they were able to engage in all the pursuits of life, including manual labour. Now we are to visit countries where climatic conditions are less friendly to the dominant race, where that race is in a slender minority, where the large majority, in opportunities, in attainments, and in language, religion, habits of thought, and national customs, are entirely unlike those who shape their future. But beyond this anomalous medley, this conglomerate diversity, projecting like the branches of a tree in every direction, and appearing to have nothing in common, there is one great trunk binding all, or that should bind all, to the same root, which is to all the font of life. That trunk, and that root, are a common interest and a common destiny. In the gigantic Empire which the British race has founded, the first part of its mission—*construction*—has been accomplished; the second part which has to be accomplished is *consolidation*. Th

first part proves the possession of energy, and organising power, of an uncommon order; the second will prove the presence or absence of the faculty of adaptation and accommodation. The first has secured the existence of the Empire; the second will secure its continuity. The work of the first has been to bring diverse peoples within the purview of British rule; the work of the second will be to produce in those peoples the consciousness of a common interest, and a common destiny. Again, the work of consolidation has been performed by the British race alone; the work of consolidation will be accomplished only by the full co-operation of the governing and governed races. For co-operation, that is to say, successful co-operation, presupposes a certain state of feeling between the parties co-operating. Generally, we treat people according to the esteem, or contempt, or indifference with which we regard them. We may by feats of dissimulation succeed in beguiling them into the belief that we entertain for them genuine respect or regard, whereas if our intercourse with them be of sufficient length and intimacy, our dissimulation, wearing into holes, would allow our real sentiments to protrude, with disquieting effects.

Since our actions towards others are really governed by the sentiments we cherish concerning them, and since those sentiments determine the solidity or laxity of co-operation; since also co-operation is the basis of consolidation as regards the Empire, it cannot be improper to ask here, more particularly what are the feelings of the ruling race towards the subject races?

## CHAPTER XII

### THE WHITE RACES AND THE DARK RACES

#### THE NEGRO RACE.

FOR our first consideration we will select that race which has had more points of contact with the ruling race than any of the other Coloured Races. We will endeavour to ascertain what is the real feeling of the dominant race towards this subject Negro race.

Being interested in a certain scheme, to which Parliament was invited, toward the close of the session of 1898, to give its support and sanction, we attended the House of Commons when the sanction of the Committee of the House was to be given by the customary vote. At the close of the able and lucid statement setting forth the somewhat labyrinthine scheme, the debate was opened by a gentleman who, in a speech that was remarkable for its length, asserted, among other things, that the "blacks" in general, and those of the West Indies in particular, are "a useless article." The irate legislator then directed his caustic logic on the West Indian planter, whom, however, he treated with greater leniency than the "Negro race," which he had branded as "a useless article."

Another gentleman rose, and was scarcely through the opening sentences of his speech before he grasped the cudgel with which he defended the reputation of the planters. Some members followed, all of whom dealt with the subject that was under discussion, but not one

of them made any allusion to the offensive epithet which had been hurled at the Negro. We were, therefore, reluctantly, yet unavoidably, forced to the conclusion, that the insult offered to the planters, which had awakened and provoked the expression of strong dissent, was not thought to be deserved, but the insult offered to the Negro, which had been passed over in silence, was regarded as justifiable. The opinion of the British House of Commons concerning their fellow-subjects of the African race appears, therefore, to be that they are "*a useless article.*"

The gentleman who led this attack on the Negro race might not have been aware, that it was only after one hundred and thirteen years of service, fifty-seven more years of persuasion, and a compensation of twenty millions sterling, backed up by the strong and determined force of public opinion, that the West Indian slave-holders could be prevailed upon to part with their human chattel. Further, that gentleman ought to have been aware that it is the blacks, and not the whites, who bear the brunt of taxation in the British West Indies at the present time. Had the gentleman known these two facts when he was tempted to vilify the Negro, he might have said: "If the Negro is a 'useless article,' as I am disposed to think he is, how is it that, instead of hailing the opportunity for ridding himself of his unprofitable burden, the slave-owner clung to it so tenaciously, that it required fifty-seven long years of coaxing, alternating with threats, besides the sop of twenty million pounds, in order to induce him to relax his hold?" He might also have said: "If the legislative machinery is mainly supported by the blacks, they cannot reasonably be designated 'a useless article.'"

Allusion may here be made to the part played by this "useless article" in the recent campaign in the Soudan. The *Standard* inserted the following paragraph: "Some of the Sirdar's Soudanese were cautiously making their way across the field of battle, their duty being one which, however hateful it may seem to the theoretical humanitarian, warfare against a savage horde like the Khalifa's



makes imperative. . . . As the Sirdar's black troops were doing what had to be done to make a safe path across the scene of conflict, the sharp whistle of bullets came from the ridge to their right front. . . . The Egyptian Camel Corps had halted not far from the foot of the hill. The enemy's fire was followed by a rush . . . but they had reckoned without Macdonald's Black Brigade and the gunboats. The Camel Corps, a splendid body of Soudanese, who have done invaluable work as scouts, and are no less admirable as fighting men, now fell back steadily without a sign of confusion. Before the enemy were on them, the gunboats in the river opened fire with their Maxims, covering the retirement. Then General Macdonald deployed his brigade, and poured volley after volley into the Dervishes. . . . But still they came on, their jibbahs gleaming white against the green scrub and the blue sky. . . . The sight was magnificent. As the Dervishes streamed round the mountain, those left on the ridge swept down the hill. . . . The Dervishes threw themselves on Macdonald's front. But sharp as it was, the fight did not last long, . . . and ended in the final and complete repulse of the enemy with heavy loss."

This may serve to illustrate the uses to which this "useless article" may conceivably be put.

The following extract is taken from Professor Keane's book on "Ethnology" (Second Edition, p. 264). After dealing with the relation that exists between the Oceanic and Continental branches of the Negro family—a relation that is made to rest on certain anatomical resemblances—and after pointing out the differences existing under those resemblances, Professor Keane thus proceeds: "But the independent and simultaneous evolution of two types so nearly alike, on either side of the Indian Ocean remains a remarkable phenomenon, which seems more than a mere coincidence, especially when the similarly independent, or apparently independent, evolution of two Nigritio sub-types in the same regions is borne in mind. The explanation seems to be, that both were already partly developed in

the common centre of evolution, and after the dispersion east and west, continued their evolution in the direction already taken. Then the observable differences would readily be accounted for by the different environments, both tropical, but one mainly continental, the other mainly oceanic. The differences are even more marked in the mental than in the physical order. In some respects there is perhaps not much to choose between the two. Cannibalism was, at no very remote period, universal in both areas, although probably of a milder character in the east than in the west, where, even since the 'partition,' scenes of indescribable barbarity and atrocity have been witnessed in the Congo basin. But the Papuan stands intellectually at a somewhat higher level than the African. He is less of an 'overgrown child,' more capable of social progress, less grossly superstitious, and possesses a much higher sense of art, as seen by the splendid ethnographic collections recently made in the western parts of New Guinea by agents of the Dutch Government."

Reference has already been made to the apparent incapacity of the full-blood African Negro, to make any permanent advance beyond his present normal condition without extraneous aid. In fact without miscegenation he seems to have no future, a truth which, but for false sentiment and theological prejudice, would have long since been universally recognised. Commissioner Sir H. H. Johnston, than whom no better authority could be appealed to, fully agrees with the Negro writer who holds that, "The pure and unadulterated Negro cannot, as a rule, advance with any stability above his present level of culture; that he requires the admixture of a superior type of man."

But the white and black races are too widely separated in type to produce a satisfactory hybrid. Hence the Professor thinks that, "the admixture of *yellow* that the Negro requires should come from India, and that Eastern Africa, and British Central Africa, should become the America of the Hindu. The mixture of the two races would give the Indian the physical development which he lacks, and he in

his turn would transmit to his half Negro offspring the industry, ambition, and aspiration towards a civilised life, which the Negro so markedly lacks."

"In reply to those who attribute the backward state of the African Negro to baneful European and Mohammedan influences, it may be pointed out, first, that Islam has on the whole been far more beneficial than injurious, as shown by the superior conditions of those Soudanese populations, such as the Mandingoes, Hausas, and Sonrhais, who have been long in association with the Arab and Berber intruders. Second, that the social status of the Negro is antecedent to all contact with European, or any other foreign peoples. As already explained, their inherent mental inferiority, almost more marked than their physical characters, depends on physiological causes by which the intellectual faculties seem to be arrested before attaining their normal development. Even in the Southern United States, under the plantation system, Filippo Manetta noticed that 'the Negro children were sharp, intelligent, and full of vivacity, but on approaching the adult period a gradual change set in. The intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence.' We must necessarily infer that the development of the Negro and the white proceed on different lines. Whilst with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan, in the former the growth of the brain is, on the contrary, arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures, and lateral pressure of the frontal bone."

"Has any real improvement taken place since the emancipation anywhere in the New World, where the conditions are more favourable than in the cradle of the race? After a lengthened experiment to raise the Virginian freedmen by education, involving an expenditure of about £1,000,000, Colonel Frank G. Ruffin finds the outcome to be that 'so far from having been fitted by education for the discharge of civil or social duties, or from having been improved in conduct or morals, they have absolutely deteriorated, and

have given no promise of amendment in any direction. . . . There has been no development of religious, intellectual, moral or industrial advancement of the Negro, who should be spoken of rather as non-moral than im-moral, and who is here declared to be a political idiot."

"Sir Spencer St. John, who had official knowledge of these matters, was, after a residence of over twenty years in 'The Black Republic,' fain to confess that the greater his experience the less he thought of the capacity of the Negro to hold an independent position. So long as he is influenced by contact with the white man, as in the Southern portion of the United States, he gets on very well."

Professor Keane's points of attack are so numerous, that it is quite impossible for us to hope that we shall overtake them all. Among other things the Professor states that the Negro is an "overgrown child." Perhaps he is; but what most people who are interested in his future desire to know is, whether the "overgrown child" is likely to produce a useful man.

We are told further, that the Negro is grossly superstitious—a statement not at all remarkable, seeing that this form of mental aberration is so widely distributed among the races of the human family. Possibly, as in the case of some other races, the conditions favourable to an abnormal growth were not wanting to the Negro. But it has yet to be shown that in this commodity the Negro surpasses other races.

It is said, that the Negro has "little, if any, artistic sense." But it should be remembered that the artistic sense is not generally discernible in childhood.

"Reference has already been made," says Professor Keane, "to the apparent incapacity of the full-blood African Negro to make any permanent advance beyond his present normal condition without extraneous aid." But is this apparent lack of capacity on the part of the full-blood African Negro peculiar to the Negro? With the exception, possibly, of the ancient Egyptians, what race, either in ancient or modern times, has shown any

capacity to make a permanent advance "without extraneous aid?" Did the Greeks, the Romans, or the modern nations of Europe? Why then should the Negro be condemned for an "apparent incapacity," that has also been the characteristic of all other races?

Professor Keane (p. 266) speaks of the "inherent inferiority of the Negro," and yet he informs us (p. 265) concerning the capacity of the Negro to make permanent advance with the help of "extraneous aid." And he goes on to speak (p. 266) of the "superior condition of the Soudanese populations." According to Professor Keane's own showing, the negro is capable of "permanent advance," on precisely the same condition — extraneous aid — which the leading races have required in order to make "permanent advance." Of what then does the Professor complain?

We reserve, for the present, our remarks about the arrest of the cranial development of the Negro.

Professor Keane now asks, with what seems to be an air of triumph, "Has any real improvement taken place since the emancipation anywhere in the New World, where the conditions are more favourable than in the cradle of the race?" Then he quotes Colonel Frank G. Ruffin, who says that, after a lengthened educational experiment on the Negroes in Virginia, in which about £1,000,000 was spent, he finds the outcome to be that, so far from having been fitted by education for the discharge of civil duties, or from having been improved in conduct or morals, they have deteriorated, and have given no promise of amendment."

The Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., in his "American Commonwealth," 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 501, 502, says, "I have seen it stated that, in 1892, the Southern Negroes (not all the Negroes of the United States) paid taxes on property valued at more than \$14,000,000, practically all of which has been acquired since 1865." We give this as the answer to Professor Keane's inquiry, whether "any real improvement has taken place" since the American emancipation of

the Negro. And in answering Colonel Ruffin's assertion, we cannot do better than quote again from Mr. Bryce, who, corroborating Dr. Harris' statement, says, "Dr. W. T. Harris observes with perfect truth: 'With better industrial habits there comes a better style of living. Though most of the Negroes still live in rude cabins, no better than the huts which served them as slaves, those who own or rent land have begun to erect decent houses, and furnish them with taste, while in the suburbs of a city the Negro tradesman has sometimes a neat villa as the white of like occupation, though generally he is obliged to inhabit the coloured quarters.'" In another place we find this statement: "We admit that there are more favourable conditions for the Negro in the New World than there are for him, on the whole, in Africa; but we also affirm, that side by side with these favourable conditions, there are *unfavourable* conditions which, when considered, do not make the Negro's backwardness, but rather his progress in the New World, appear astonishing." These two sets of conditions will be alluded to more fully later on.

This author says again, "The Negroes will doubtless, taking them over the whole country, though more rapidly in some regions than in others, advance in education, in intelligence, and in wealth, as well as in habits of thrift and application. Their progress since the war enables one to predict this with confidence."

As for the mixture of blood between the Negro and some other race, for the mutual improvement of both races, we are neither prepared to admit nor to condemn such a suggestion; but we would simply observe, that to-day the greatest nation in the world is the most mixed one.

Lastly, in the pronouncement that the Negro "should be spoken of rather as *non-moral* than *im-moral*," does Professor Keane mean to imply that in the Negro the moral faculty is absent? We can hardly permit ourselves to think that this can be his meaning, since it would involve that a man professedly intelligent, has undertaken to write about a subject of which he must be profoundly and woe-

fully ignorant. It appears to be clear that, in writing this chapter on the Negro Race, Professor Keane has allowed himself to forsake the impartial spirit of scientific research, and dependence on ascertained facts, and has taken up with vulgar assumption and popular prejudice.

As a faithful disciple of Carlyle—the champion of might and despotism—after referring to the altered conditions of the Sugar Industry at Barbadoes, and mentioning the United States as a desirable ally to which that island should be attached—Mr. Froude goes on to say (“The English in the West Indies,” p. 107), “The Americans are wise in their generation. They looked at Cuba, they looked at St. Domingo. They might have had both on easy terms, but they tell you that their Constitution does not allow them to hold dependent States. What they annex they absorb, and they did not wish to absorb another million and a half of blacks. . . . Our English islands may be more tempting, but there too the black cloud hangs thick and grows yearly thicker. . . .” Alluding to the dress of the native women of Barbadoes, their ease of carriage, grace, &c., he concludes: “Poor things! it cannot compensate for their colour, which, now they are free, is harder to bear than when they were slaves.” Again, “The white is relatively disappearing, and the black is growing; this is a fact with which we have to deal. We may say, if we please, ‘Be it so then; we do not want those islands; let the blacks have them, poor devils. They have had wrongs enough in this world; let them take their turn, and have a good time now.’ . . . The islands will still be ours, the English flag will still float over the forts; the government, whatever it be, will be administered in the Queen’s name. Were it worth while, one might draw a picture of the position of an English Governor, with a black Parliament and a black Ministry, recommending by advice of his constitutional ministers some measure like the Haytian Land Law. No Englishman, not even a bankrupt peer, would consent to occupy such a position. . . .” And again, speaking on the same subject in connection

with Jamaica, he says (p. 123): "Let a generation or two pass by and carry away with them the old traditions, and an English Governor-General will be found presiding over a black Council, delivering the speeches made for him by a black prime minister; and how could this endure? No English gentleman would consent to occupy so absurd a situation."

Mr. Froude's attitude in his book, of which these few extracts faithfully reflect the tone and temper, is not that of a great historian who, conscious of his responsibility as the conveyancer of truth to his generation and to generations yet unborn, seeks to discharge his duty fearlessly and impartially; neither is it the attitude of a great traveller who, visiting a distant part of the Empire,—that is at a critical stage of transition,—as a subject of the Empire and a man of letters, but it is the attitude of a lawyer, and one not of the highest professional standing, who, with little compunction, goes down into the gutter to collect the slime and garbage of contempt, disdain, scorn, and conscious superiority, with which, under the dominance of a diseased vanity, he proceeds to the Court, to besmear and plaster the adversary of his client.

In one of the extracts which we have quoted, Mr. Froude anticipated the passage of a measure by a native West Indian Legislature, corresponding to the Haytian Land Laws. This little Negro State holds a very prominent place in Mr. Froude's book, and its alleged failure seemed to have produced in the mind of the historian that feeling of satisfaction that a prophet may sometimes experience in the fulfilment of his prophecy.

Nor is Mr. Froude alone in this frequent and almost wearisome use of the Haytian Republic. Sir Spencer St. John first introduced the subject, and ever since there has been no dearth of speakers. The debate, as if on eagles' wings, and with an energy unsurpassed even by Niagara, has sped on in the course of its assertive confidence. The only defect is that all the speakers hold *the same views*. The planter, anxious to perpetuate his rule of absolutism



by cutting off or obstructing prospects of success that may be opening to the Negro, points to Hayti. The civil servant, who looks upon the Negro as a rival by whom he may probably be ousted, points to Hayti. The political jobber, dreading the elevation of the Negro, by means of the franchise, to a position of corresponding equality, points to Hayti. The author who has won fame, but who nurses the belief of his own inherent superiority, or of the Negro's inherent inferiority, turns to Hayti for confirmatory evidence. Then, too, as the only requisites for writing about the Negro are a vigorous pen, a lively imagination, and a vocabulary stocked with invectives—the echoes and wind-instruments of those greater minds—they also, on entering the field, direct their literary popguns against Hayti.

The statement of Sir Spencer St. John, which set the ears of the civilised world tingling, and which has made the Haytian Republic a “hissing and a byword” among the nations, is given by Mr. Froude (p. 126):—

“The Republic of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the idol of all believers in the new gospel of Liberty, had, after ninety years of independence, become a land where cannibalism could be practised with impunity. The African Obeah, the worship of serpents, and trees, and stones, after smouldering in all the West Indies, in the form of witchcraft and poisoning, had broken out in Hayti in all its old hideousness. Children were sacrificed as in the days of Moloch, and were devoured with horrid ceremony; salted limbs were preserved and sold for the benefit of those who were unable to attend the full solemnities.”

The enormities chronicled in this catalogue, it will be noticed, are represented as being of *African* origin. Now, cannibalism, as an African institution, is by no means universal; among the numerous tribes of the African continent, few, very few, practise cannibalism; and those tribes who are cannibals do not practise cannibalism as an ordinary occurrence; it is only adopted on exceptional and extraordinary occasions, such as the victory of arms,

when a captive is slaughtered ; or at the time of some great national calamity. The third thing to be noticed is, that the victims, on such occasions, are always *adults*, and never children. So that when Mr. Froude, or Sir Spencer St. John, states that "children were sacrificed . . . and were devoured with horrid ceremony," and that such a practice was the revival of an African custom, that statement must be regarded as altogether at variance with the facts. Therefore, if the Haytians *are* practising what they or their fathers practised in Africa, they cannot have been sacrificing and devouring children, as is alleged, since the sacrificing and devouring of children are unknown in Africa. Sir Spencer St. John, Mr. Froude tells us, was an English official who had resided at Port au Prince, Hayti, for twelve years. Now, during those twelve years, if the limbs of children were salted, and preserved, and sold, the practice must have become common enough ; indeed it must have become so common as to have lost the *secrecy* with which it might originally have been invested. Therefore Sir Spencer St. John, for a considerable part of those twelve years, must have known about these barbarities. Such being the case, it is difficult to understand why he should have allowed twelve years to elapse before exposing so terrible and execrable a deed, transpiring in the midst of civilisation, and by a people in diplomatic intercourse with the leading States in Europe. For the same reasons, it is quite inconceivable how the British, American, French, and German residents in Hayti could have so far condoned those practices as never to have attempted their abolition with the weapon of exposure.

We are rather inclined to look for a solution of the mystery in the explanation vouchsafed by Mr. Froude himself, an explanation, however, which he afterwards abandoned. This is what he says : "That a man in the position of a British resident should have ventured on a statement which, if untrue, would be ruinous to himself, appeared in a high degree improbable. Yet one had to set one incredibility against another. Notwithstanding

the character of the evidence, when I went out to the West Indies I was still unbelieving. I could not bring myself to credit that, in an island nominally Catholic, where the French language was spoken, and there were cathedrals, and churches, and priests, and missionaries, so horrid a revival of devil-worship could have been really possible. All the inquiries which I had been able to make from American and other officers who had been in Hayti confirmed Sir Spencer St. John's story. . . . I was perplexed and uncertain, when the Chief Justice of Barbadoes opened the subject, and asked me what I thought. Had I been convinced I should have turned the conversation, but I was not convinced, and I was not afraid to say so. I reminded him of the universal conviction throughout Europe that the Jews also were habitually guilty of sacrificing children. There had been detailed cases of alleged offenders who had been brought before Courts of Justice at any time for the last six hundred years. Witnesses had been found to swear to facts which had been accepted as conclusive. Wretched creatures, in Henry III.'s time, had been dragged by dozens at horses' tails through the streets of London, broken on the wheel, or torn to pieces by infuriated mobs. Even within the last two years the same accusation has been brought forward in Russia and Germany, and has been established apparently by adequate proof. So far as popular conviction of the guilt of the Jews was an evidence against them, nothing could be stronger, and no charge could be without foundation, on ordinary principles of evidence, which revived so often and in so many places. And yet many persons, I said, and myself amongst them, believed that though the accusers were perfectly sincere, the guilt of the Jews was from end to end *a hallucination of hatred*. I had looked into the particulars of some of the trials. They were like the trials for witchcraft. The belief had created the fact, and accusation was itself evidence. I was prepared to find that these stories of child murder in Hayti were bred similarly of anti-Negro prejudice."

Although Mr. Froude afterwards recanted from the opinions of this statement, they appear to be the most rational which, under the circumstances, could be entertained.

Mr. Froude viewed the idea of an English Governor having a Negro premier to prepare his speech, which he would have to read in the presence of a black Ministry, and before a black Parliament, as supremely ridiculous. And, no doubt, from the standpoint of the insane and inveterate prejudice which has been allowed to deify race and colour, such a spectacle would not be only ridiculous but positively outrageous. But from the standpoint of reason, whose place prejudice has usurped and desecrated, that spectacle would neither be ridiculous nor outrageous; for reason seeks, not the casket but the jewel, not the house but the occupant, not the skin but the mind. Hence, whilst Mr. Froude, and men of his stamp, would have been wrangling outside, about the colour of the paint with which the doors and windows of the house are painted, reason would have passed within, to examine the quality and character of the mind that lodges there; and, seeking no more if the credentials of these are found to be satisfactory, reason would, in the face of an assembled world, have proceeded to invest *even a Negro* with the seals and tokens of a prime minister. France, besides establishing in her West Indian Colonies communal and general Councils, consisting largely of her coloured subjects, has had some of these men elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and one of them has had a seat in the French Cabinet.

So much the worse, then, for the English Governor, or Mr. Froude's "bankrupt Earl," who would refuse to represent the Crown, not because of incompetency, but solely because of the *colour* of the Ministry. In such conduct neither the "bankrupt Earl," nor any other Governor, would be proving himself to be the superior of those whom he thus despised.

We have now come to the fourth, and last, of our illustrations. It is taken from a work by Dr. E. A.

Freeman, entitled "Some Impressions of the United States." Referring to the ill-feeling which the Irish-Americans may at any time stir up between America and this country, Dr. Freeman continues : " But the Irishman is, after all, in a wide sense, one of ourselves. He is an Aryan, he is a European ; he is capable of being assimilated by other branches of the European stock. . . . In England, in America, in any other land, nothing hinders him from becoming one with the people of the land. . . . All that is needed to this end is that he should come by himself. . . . The Irish difficulty is troublesome just now ; it is likely to be troublesome for some time to come ; but it is not likely to last for ever. But the Negro difficulty must last, either till the way has been found out by which the Ethiopian may change his skin, or till either the white man or the black man departs out of the land."

The United States and, in their measure, other parts of the American continent and islands, have to grapple with a problem such as no people ever had to grapple with before. Other communities, from the beginning of political society, have been either avowedly or practically founded on race distinctions. There has been, to say the least, some people, or nation, or tribe, which has given its character to the whole body, and by that section other elements have been assimilated. " In the United States this part has been played, as far as the white population is concerned, by the original English kernel. . . . But beyond that range lies another range, where assimilation ceases to be possible. The eternal laws of Nature, the eternal distinction of colour, forbid the assimilation of the Negro. You may give him the rights of citizenship by law ; *you can never make him the real equal, the real fellow, of citizens of European descent. . . . The Negro may be a man and a brother, in some secondary sense ; he is not a man and a brother in the same full sense in which every Western Aryan is a man and a brother.* He cannot be assimilated ; the laws of Nature forbid it. And it is surely a dangerous experiment to have in any commonwealth an inferior race

legally equal to the superior, but which Nature keeps down below the level to which law has raised it. It is less dangerous in this particular case, because the Negro is on the whole a peaceful and easily satisfied creature. . . . No one now pleads for slavery ; no one laments the abolition ; but did the abolition of slavery necessarily imply the admission of the emancipated slave to full citizenship? . . . We are told that education has done, and is doing, much for the younger members of the once-enslaved race. But *education cannot wipe out the eternal distinction that has been drawn by the hand of Nature. No teaching can turn a black man into a white one.* "The question which, in days of controversy, the North heard with such wrath from the South—Would you like your daughter to marry a nigger?—lies at the root of the matter. . . . To me at least the Negro is repulsive, but I can understand that he may be otherwise to those who have been used to him from their childhood. On the other hand, I can understand that, now the Negroes have been set free by the agency of the North, against the will of the South, the one side may think it their duty to make the best they can of their own work, while the other side may feel a very natural bitterness towards those whose freedom is a constant memorial of their defeat. . . . In the North it struck me that people tried to speak as well of the Negro as they could. . . . But nowhere has the Negro made any approach to real equality. I need hardly say that I never met a Negro at any American gentleman's table. I did hear of one gentleman . . . who had a single white man in his service, the others being Negroes. But the white man, if he waited on his master, was waited on by his fellow-servants. He dined at a table by himself, while the inferior race served him. . . . And the broad distinction between the two races, as wiping out distinctions between members of the same race, sometimes leads to odd consequences. If a white workman, for instance, has to be employed for the whole day, he must dine at the master's table, he will not eat and drink with the coloured people."

In a book, "Cuba Past and Present," recently written by a Mr. Davey, whom I suppose to be an American, speaking of the passionate fondness of the Cuban Negroes for music, the author observes, that during his last visit to Havana, nearly every Negro he met was whistling the Toreador song from "Carmen," "the favourite opera then being performed," and that the orchestra was composed largely of coloured people—a peculiarity, he goes on to remark "which would never be tolerated in the States, where no white conductor would lead a mixed band, and where half the audience would leave the house on beholding woolly heads bending over instruments played by sable hands. Many members of the Tacon orchestra, one of the best in existence, are full-blooded Negroes, and with their co-operation not only Italian, but Wagnerian opera is successfully performed."

Of Negro slavery in Cuba, the same author says: "I do not think the slaves were any worse treated in Cuba than in the Southern States of America before the abolition; and, indeed I have not noticed, in the Latin slave-owning countries, the strong prejudice on the part of the whites against the blacks, which exists all over the United States, and amounts to a sense of absolute loathing."

Mr. Bryce's testimony, to which reference has already been made, and which is supported by large numbers of other observers, including Americans, is that the American Negro is not lapsing into barbarism, but advancing in the scale of civilisation. So, whilst, on the one hand, we have a people who, after a long and cruel bondage, are striving to improve themselves, and therefore to benefit the government under which they live; on the other hand, according to Mr. Davey, and corroborated by Dr. Freeman, we have the former masters of this people cherishing against them a hatred amounting to "absolute loathing." In the quotations furnished from Dr. Freeman's book, we find such phrases as "The eternal laws of Nature, the eternal distinction of colour, forbid the assimilation of the Negro." "You may give him the rights of citizenship

by law, you cannot make him the real equal, the real fellow, of citizens of European descent." "The Negro may be a man and a brother in some secondary sense, he is not a man and a brother in the same full sense in which every Western Aryan is a man and a brother." "No teaching can make a black man white." "To me the Negro is repulsive." Besides telling us of the "absolute loathing" in which the black American is held by the white American, these sentences also tell us, that Dr. Freeman takes his full share in the "absolute loathing" of the Negro. Dr. Freeman was a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, and a Fellow of his College. He was also an examiner in the School of Law, and Modern History, and possessed the honorary degrees of D.C.L. and LL.D. from the two oldest and most famous English Universities. We are also informed that Dr. Freeman was a historian of some repute. From one occupying such a position, and with such attainments and qualifications, even though he were indifferent to the just claims of a persecuted people, and though unsympathetic with their legitimate aspirations, yet, from that innate sense of right, that nobility of character, that courtesy, that breeding of a cultured gentleman, which we had always associated with this standing, we should have expected that, in speaking of the coloured citizens of America, Dr. Freeman would have been at least moderate in his language; but the words quoted bring before us a pedant and a *dilettante*, who, in a frenzy of morbid rage, seeks to drown a defenceless and offenceless people in a torrent of coarse abuse. And in the publicity that Dr. Freeman sought to give to these opinions, he presents the spectacle of a man glorying in his own shame.

The efficacy of stimulants in rescuing life, when almost the last grain is passing through the hour-glass, is well known. The laboured breathing, the irregular pulse, the almost motionless heart, and the background of a system in almost absolute collapse, are sounds of the footsteps of death. But even when the great Commander has reached



the portal, the spoonful of stimulant swallowed, thrusting him back, may secure respite to the life. Yet the cordial which, to-day, rescues the life, may, to-morrow, produce in that life the mental twist of delirium tremens. Similarly, by supplying some outline to the individual concerning the origin and progress of ancient and modern nations; by supplying, in that outline, the physical weakness that attended birth, the intellectual and moral darkness that clogged their movements, the ebb and flow of their growth, and the greatness, decay, and dissolution of the ancients, the right apprehension of history by an individual will produce a just estimate of the achievements of his nation or race, a proper appreciation of the achievements of others, and a kindly consideration towards races still in the simpler forms of existence. But what may be called the toxic use of history by the historian produces that state of mind which exaggerates the achievements of progressive races, and particularly his own, whilst it holds races that are less progressive in contemptuous disregard, and even loathing. Dr. Freeman unhappily was the victim of this form of eccentricity. For had he been rightly influenced by his great historical knowledge, in dealing with the subject of the Negro, he would have asked whether the progressive races have always held their present position; and if not, whence did the means of their progress come to them? The answer that his history would then have made is, that the progressive nations of to-day have not always been among the progressive races of the world, but that they too were among the unprogressive or inferior races of antiquity. And the answer he would have received to his next inquiry would have been, to one of Dr. Freeman's temperament, most distasteful, no doubt, and at the same time a severe rebuke to certain current notions. For this answer, besides confirming the previous answer, would have conveyed the further intelligence, that the sparks which grew into the blaze of European progress and advancement were originally produced in Africa (Egypt). And that in connection with

the birth of Science and Art, the African, the Negro, was no idle spectator, but an active and enthusiastic originator and participator.

Volney, the celebrated French traveller ("Volney's Travels," vol. i. chap. iii.), says: "When I visited the Sphinx, I could not help thinking the figure of that monster furnished the true solution of the enigma. When I saw its features precisely those of a Negro, I recollected the remarkable passage of Herodotus in which he says, 'For my part I believe the Cholchi to be a colony of Egyptians, because, like them, they have black skins and frizzled hair' (bib. ii.); that is, that the ancient Egyptians were real Negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa . . . This historical fact affords to philosophy an interesting subject of reflection. How are we astonished when we reflect that to the race of Negroes, at present our slaves, and object of our extreme contempt, we owe our arts, sciences, and even the very use of speech." Again, Catafago, in his "Arabic and English Dictionary," under the title "Kusur" (*placis*), says: "The ruins of Thebes, that ancient and celebrated town, deserve to be visited, as just these heaps of ruins, laved by the Nile, are all that remain of the opulent cities that gave lustre to Ethiopia. It was there that a people, since forgotten, discovered the elements of science and art, at a time when all other men were barbarous, and when a race, now regarded as the refuse of Society, explored among the phenomena of Nature those civil and religious systems which have since held mankind in awe."

Dr. Freeman might have proceeded to ask himself this further question: What were the early conditions of those nations of Europe upon whom the genius of the African dowered such stores of intellectual wealth? The Greeks, the Romans, and the peoples of modern Europe, what was their early history? Concerning the Greeks, that extraordinary race that has left its mark so indelibly on the intellectual life of mankind, a nation which — notwithstanding the many centuries that have passed away, and

the great distance covered by progress in the arts, and in philosophy—is still the model of civilisation, Dr. Freeman would have been reminded that, originally, they were among “the rudest mortals that have lived since the flood.”<sup>1</sup> Instead of inhabiting even the proverbial hut of the savage, their abodes were dens and caverns. And the indolence and lack of skill that left them shelterless, and that drove them into the forests, where they became the prey of wild beasts, so unfitted them for even the rudest form of cultivation, that for subsistence they relied on the precarious supplies of Nature, and in consequence often died of starvation. Slain by hunger, and by wild beasts, they were also devoured by the ferocity of their internecine strifes. Nor did they evince those higher feelings of attachment by which families are knit together. “The laws of affection and marriage were unknown among them.” Among the tribes of Africa there will not probably be found one occupying a place so low as that which in their earliest years the Greek race occupied.

After the Greeks had risen from their insignificance and impotence, and were dazzling the rest of the world with the glory of their magnificence, and the grandeur of their exploits, the darkness was already breaking, and the morning cloud already appearing, on the horizon of a nation in the West, and that nation was Rome. Egypt was the mine in which the metal, civilisation, was dug and cast into bullion and ingots. In Greece it was assayed, melted, and wrought into coins, according to the approved standard of refinement; and in Rome laws were formulated for their circulation, and the coins were brought into general use. From beneath the great accumulation of mythological *débris*, Dr. Freeman might have extracted the following available facts, bearing on the history of the early Romans. The point of contact being higher than that which we have observed in the case of the early Greeks, he would have come upon a people just beginning to assume some of the characteristics of a nation. He

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<sup>1</sup> Huddersfield's “General History of the World,” p. 99.

would have found these people practised in the calling of agriculture, skilled in the use of the bow, kindling their fires by rubbing together pieces of stick, dwelling in houses whose roofs were begrimed with smoke, each with a chamber containing the hearth, the marriage bed, and a table for meals; and living securely under the Patriarchal form of Government.

In this connection Dr. Freeman might have observed that it is chiefly those African tribes that have never come under European or Arab influence, who are now in the position represented here by the history of the early Romans.

Passing from early Roman history to that of their heirs and successors, and taking the great Gothic horde that produced so deep an impression on modern European history, it will be found that previous to their departure from their native forests, they lived in tribal settlements, of which each was ruled by a sovereign, whilst the towns and villages composing them were severally presided over by a chief. Private ownership of land being unknown among them, the land was cultivated by joint tillage, and the ingathered crops were distributed under the superintendence of a magistrate, according to the necessities and merits of the participants. The Germanic branch of the Goths, whilst showing the strictest regard for justice among their own tribes, and whilst full of generous impulses and hospitality, seem to have had less regard for the property of those to whom they were under no obligation. To plunder such communities—driving off their cattle, &c.—was an exercise in which their youths indulged, and of which the clamorous huzzas at home, that greeted their return, were an unmistakable sign of approval.

At his pastime, which was chess and the dice, the German would gamble away his cattle, his furniture, his armour, yea, for a single throw he would risk his very liberty. If unsuccessful, in strict obedience to honour, he would allow himself to be bound, chastised, and sold into slavery, by his more fortunate but weaker antagonist.

The religion of the Germans, into which there was a large infusion from the Romans whom they subdued, was full of the "marvellous." Its ritual was carried out in the deep recesses of the woods, and here human sacrifices were sometimes offered.

Turning now to the Anglo-Saxon, another member of the great Teutonic stock. We meet him in his village, partitioned off from neighbouring villages by a belt of forest or waste land. As the counterpart of the chieftain of an African town, the Earl was the chief figure in the early English village. Around his dwelling were the abodes of lesser personages, some of whom, by heredity, marriage, military service, or claims less important, were allowed to join their fortunes to that of the commonweal. Next to the Earl in rank, and in equal privileges, was the "freeman." And he constituted the buttress of the village Society. As the free-necked man he became also the "weaponed man"; he alone bore the spear and sword, and to him the right of self-redress, for wrong sustained, was given; self-redress afterwards widening into defence by his kin and the community of which the aggrieved was a member.

The ownership of land was another privilege which the freeman enjoyed. Such ownership, however, was not exclusive, and as the land had not outgrown its population, every freeman had the right to, and did actually share in, the use of the land. But in addition to the Earl, and the freeman of the village, we have the slaves, which were recruited mainly from debtors and criminals. Lashed by the pangs of hunger, the freeman bent his neck to the yoke of slavery, or, unable to discharge his debts, he exchanged his spear and sword for the mattock of the labourer, by placing his head in his creditors' hands. Or, pressed by need, the father sometimes sold his wife and children into slavery, and those so sold became part of the fixed furniture of the estate, to be willed away at the decease of the proprietor, with the ox, or horse, whose pedigrees have been recorded with the same elaborate care. The children of

the bondmen were also slaves, and the children of a free-man by a slave woman shared the mother's lot. The common god of the early Britons was Woden, the war-god, who guarded ways, boundaries, &c., and whom every tribe believed to be the ancestor of its kings. There were also Frea, the deity of peace, joy, and faithfulness, whose "emblems were borne aloft by dancing maidens;" Thorshday, the god of thunder, air, storm, and rain; Saturday, the obscure god Saetere; and Tuesday the god Tiw, to meet whom was a visitation of death. Now, seeing that the corner-stone of the world's civilisation was laid by the Negro; seeing that, in their early histories—political, social, and religious—the most forward nations of to-day were in a condition precisely similar to that in which most African tribes are now found; and seeing that in its entirety, African life is not one monotonous uniformity of depression and degradation, but, as represented by the civilised Negro communities in Africa, America, and the West Indies, shows hopeful signs of evolution, Dr. Freeman might reasonably have concluded, that in the inscrutable councils of the All Wise, the Negro perhaps is being held in reserve to lay the last stone upon the edifice of which he laid the first in Egypt. At any rate, Dr. Freeman might have proceeded better than by comparing a race debauched at home by a slave-trade of four and a half centuries, and in the land of servitude for more than two and a half centuries, with the progress of races that, for twenty centuries, have drunk at the fountain of Liberty, and to whom, for that period, the avenues of culture have been opened. Making fair comparisons, Dr. Freeman might have seen signs of improvement in the Negro, both in his ancestral home, and in the lands of his adoption, indicating the presence of seeds that will grow and blossom into a harvest of moral, intellectual, and material abundance. But under the toxic effect of the abuse of historical facts, Dr. Freeman proceeds to allege that the Negro is separated from his Caucasian fellow, "by a physical and intellectual difference that is eternal;" "that

his brotherhood with the white race exists only in a secondary sense ;” “that as an inferior race, he is kept down below the level of the white race by Nature, and that therefore he cannot be assimilated, since the law of Nature forbids it.”

The radical delusion upon which Dr. Freeman’s heresy is built is, that intellectual attainments and moral virtues are attributes, not of the mind but of the skin ; they are integumentary, not mental. Hence Dr. Freeman affirms, that the Negro difficulty must last “either till the way has been found out by which the Ethiopian may change his skin, or either the white man or the black man departs out of the land.”

Absurd though these statements are—the absurdity is only equalled by its popularity—we should have been quite content to leave them if their exponent, to whom they had been evidently a source of pleasure, had held them within reasonable bounds ; but seeing that he made them the vehicle of a savage and cowardly attack upon a race whom he knew to be without the means of effective reply, attention should be called to the fact that there is a limit to assumption.

The subject of the “mental inferiority” of the Negro is one of considerable importance. It is important because of the Negroes’ numerical superiority in certain parts of the Empire ; because of the political influence which, in consequence of that superiority, he must ultimately wield, for good or for ill, in those places ; and important because of the serious nature of the assertion. Professors Keane and Freeman, as we have seen, speak of the matter as a fact incapable of doubt ; and Mr. Davey, from whose book we have already quoted, further alludes to the subject. Speaking of the black babies he saw during his visit to Cuba, Mr. Davey says : “These said black babies are inconceivably quaint, and the older children charming, and very intelligent till they reach their twelfth year, when their brains suddenly appear to cease all development, excepting in the imitative art.” Now concerning each of

these three authorities, we must point out that Professor Freeman, notwithstanding the seriousness of his statements, has not deigned to furnish even a semblance of proof. Speaking of what may be called the secondary cause of the alleged mental inferiority of the Negro, viz., arrest of brain development, Mr. Davey is not certain that such an arrest takes place, for he uses the word "appear," or seem, in the phrase, "when their brains suddenly *appear* to cease all development." Professor Keane mentions, as a primary cause of the inferiority, the early closure of the cranial sutures. And the proof he adduces in support of the affirmation is the following. He begins by observing that "all the 'serratures' are stated to be more complex in the higher than in the lower races, and their definite closing appears to be delayed till a later period in life amongst the former than amongst the latter. This physiological characteristic, to which Filippo Manetta was the first to call attention in connection with racial differences, has recently been noticed by two intelligent observers, Colonel Ellis amongst the Upper Guinea peoples, and Captain Binger amongst the West Soudanese populations generally."

"The Black is a child," says this writer, "and will long remain so; and the sudden arrest of the intellectual faculties at the age of puberty is attributed to the premature closing of the sutures." Broca also has noticed that in idiots the "soldering takes place early in life, while the process is delayed the more the brain or mind is exercised." Whatever else may be urged in favour of this proof it cannot be said to be very conclusive, since it is made to culminate in the highly elastic phrases of "apparently," "stated," "appears," and "attributed."

"The development of the cellular tissue, with its corresponding mental power, *apparently* goes on until arrested by the closure of the cranial sutures." "All the serratures are *stated* to be more complex in the higher than in the lower races, and their definite closing *appears* to be delayed till a later period in life amongst the former than amongst



the latter." Then, after telling us that Manetta first called attention to these racial differences, Professor Keane calls in two witnesses, of whom one, Captain Binger, relates that "the sudden arrest at puberty is *attributed* to premature closing of the sutures." The Professor finishes his proof by calling in Broca, whose observations, however, being confined to idiots, can hardly be regarded as pertinent to the subject under discussion. His "apparently" so, and it "appears" so, are certainly not equivalents of, *it is so*. And when we are told, it is "stated" to be so, and that it is "attributed" by some one to be so, we ask who the persons are that made the statement and the attribution; and on what grounds did they make them? But answers to these questions are not forthcoming. And yet Professor Keane has the hardihood to brand a whole race with the stigma of "inherent mental inferiority," on these shadowy and nebulous assumptions.

But from the shadow let us turn to the substance of proof. We now quote the testimony of the Rev. David Macrae, given in his book, called "The Americans at Home," vol. ii. p. 66.<sup>1</sup> "Whether the Negro is capable of as high a culture as the white man is a question which I do not pretend to settle. I believe there are differences between races as there are between individuals of the same race. Even in the same family we find one boy cleverer than his brothers; and in the family of mankind one race is found to excel in one point, another race in another. Let me mention one or two facts. In the course of my tour through the South, I heard about 10,000 Negro scholars of all ages examined in different schools. Those who had been begun at the same age as white children seemed, under the stimulus of white teachers, to be getting on just as fast, making allowance, of course, for their want of help at home. Amongst those who had been brought up in slavery without education—including some who had

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Macrae's visit to the States was made immediately after the War of Secession.

been whipped for attempting to educate themselves—and who had thus been prevented from entering school till they were twelve, twenty, forty, or sixty years of age, there was a good deal of backwardness. But in Canada and the North, amongst coloured youths who had been able to begin at the right time, and were going on, there seemed no such limit to their progress as there is alleged to be. In some schools in Upper Canada, I saw black scholars sitting on the same bench with white scholars, and the teachers assured me that, for the work, such as it was, the black scholars were quite as competent as the white. At Oberlin College, Ohio, where blacks and whites, males and females, all study together, and where the course of study embraces Latin and Greek, Mathematics, and Natural and Mental Philosophy, the black students are still found competent. This does not look as if the Negro were incapable of culture. Many individual cases might be adduced to confirm the same inference, and carry it even further. At Toronto University, the man who carried off the gold medal one year was a coloured man. At Oberlin, two years before I was there, the student who graduated at the head of the whole college was a Negro girl, Miss Jackson, whom I afterwards found at Philadelphia, at the head of the Coloured Institute. Mr. Bassett, who was then Principal of that Institute, and has since been appointed by General Grant as United States Minister to Hayti, is also a Negro. Langster, another graduate of Oberlin, and one of the most eloquent advocates I heard in the States, is also a Negro. Frederick Douglass and Sella Martin, two of the ablest platform orators in America, are both Negroes. The poets Frances Harper and Maria Child, also belong to the despised race. The astronomer Banneker was a Maryland Negro. The present Senator for the State of Mississippi, the present Secretary of State for South Carolina, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana, are all Negroes. There are Negro graduates in the pulpits, Negro authors, Negro merchants, Negro magistrates, Negro sheriffs, and Negro judges, acting

efficiently side by side with white men; and yet we are told that the Negro is unfit for education—that he can be brought on a little bit, but after that falls back, and you can make nothing more of him.” I have before me four books, all the works of Negroes. The first, entitled “Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race,” contains 440 pages, and is published at 7s. 6d. In his review of this work, Mr. R. Bosworth Smith, in the *Nineteenth Century*, said: “One of the most remarkable books I have ever met with. . . . It is in the pages of Mr. Blyden’s (the author’s) book that the great dumb, dark Continent has at last begun to speak, and in tones which, if I mistake not, even those who most differ from his conclusions, will be glad to listen to, and wise to ponder.” In its review of this same work, the *St. James’s Gazette* contained the following remarks: “This is a remarkable and important book upon a great subject which has hitherto received scant attention in Europe. Its interest is enhanced by its being written by a Negro of scholarship and wide reading.”

The next work to which we refer is called “Fanti Customary Laws.” The author is Mr. J. M. Sarbah, barrister-at-law, and a native of West Africa. The book is published at 21s. net, and we are credibly informed that, on the subject of which it treats, it is the standard work consulted by the Government officials on the Gold Coast, as well as by the legal profession there.

The last two of the four works to which we refer, are keys to “Lock’s Trigonometry for Beginners,” and to Lock’s “Elementary Trigonometry.” The author of these two “keys” is Mr. Henry Carr, B.A., her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools for Lagos, West Africa. We need hardly add, that these “keys” are used in the ordinary way in the schools, colleges, etc., of this country. But it must also be observed that, in medicine, law, theology, and other branches of science, gentlemen of the Negro race have taken degrees at most of the Universities of this land (including the highest), and have studied in the colleges (including the one of whose staff Professor Keane was

himself a distinguished member). Neither in their studies, their class, or professional examinations have these students been uniformly or disproportionately behind their white compeers, whilst they have also had their fair share of representatives on the prize lists.

Reviewing the whole case then, and taking into account, on the one hand, Professor Keane's lack of personal knowledge of his subject, and his unlimited dependence on the evidence of the witnesses he produces, and, on the other, that his witnesses were, for the most part, travellers in an unfriendly climate, who were likely to collect observations with undue haste, and did indeed supply evidence most meagre in detail ; whereas Mr. Macrae's tour, from Canada to the Southern States, included the examination of some ten thousand Negro children and youths, and the testimony of the white teachers to the equality of mental capacity and ability in the black and white scholars with whom they have to deal ; and the evidence of cases of adults of the Negro race who are serving with credit and distinction in the higher walks of life in America, we cannot be thought rash if we absolutely reject Professor Keane's assertion, of the "inherent inferiority" of the black man to the white man as a clumsy and reckless assumption.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

We have been listening to the opinions representing two of the greatest forces of our national and international life, viz., Politics and Literature. And we find that there exists between them a perfect unanimity in their denouncement of the Ethiopian. There is another force, however, moving on a loftier plane than these. It is the Christian Church. Spurned by Politics, and hounded by Literature, surely in the all-embracing arm of the Church of Christ the Ethiopian may wipe his tears away, assuage his grief, and rejoice in his full welcome as a "man and a brother"!

Does not the Christian Church teach these precepts?—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "Beloved, let

us love one another, for love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God." "He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love." "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar, for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the earth; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Under these, her Golden Rules and Marching Orders, may not the Ethiopian be sure to find in the Christian Church that solace, and succour, and brotherly confidence, which are denied him both by Politics and by Literature?

In theory the Ethiopian does receive the Christian protection. But the Church fails to carry her theory fully out into practice. And this is especially true of the Protestant section of the Church. If the Church had fully recognised the Ethiopian as "a man and a brother," Politics and Literature would have done so likewise, for in this respect at least they would reflect the action of the Church. We must not be thought to mean that *all* Christians, in both hemispheres, hold and practise the unchristian sentiments of race hatred and race distinctions, but we do wish to state our conviction that the solid mass of them do. This statement will of course be challenged; but it might be well for those who are disposed to object, to consider what the effect would be if a Negro, competent and eligible in character and mental accomplishments, were to be put forward as a candidate for, say, an official, or the highest official, position in any of the leading churches on either side of the Atlantic? Would he not be rejected? And on what ground would his rejection be based? Before his character, his culture, his mental fitness were thought of, what would be first considered? Would it not be the colour of his skin? And (if he were, as we have said, qualified in every other respect) would not the hue of his

skin be the sole ground of his rejection? And yet, if only he is white, a member of any other race would be deemed a fit and proper person. Some will say, in their endeavour to vindicate such action, that it is natural for a white congregation to be presided over by a white minister. Perhaps it is; but do they think it unnatural for a black congregation to be presided over by a white minister? And as for our adherence to what is natural, it is natural to be ignorant, to be passionate, to be jealous, envious, lustful, proud; but would those yielding to any of these natural impulses or conditions, be accounted innocent at the bars of our social or national tribunals of the evil results of their indulgence? Thus the plea that it is *natural* for one race to despise and hate another is, on any pretext, untenable.

We proceed to notice an exaggerated form of race hatred, as it appears in the Christian Church of the Southern States of the American Union. The following conversation is reported, by Mr. Macrae, to have taken place between a Virginian and a man from Mobile, U.S.A. The Virginian expressed the opinion that although the South was opposed to the wholesale enfranchisement of the blacks, they would probably not be averse to a qualified suffrage. "Sir," replied the Mobile man, "I would object. I hold that this is a white man's Government, and that no Nigger has, or ever will have, or ever can have, a right to vote." "But," said the Virginian, "if a Negro shows himself man enough to make a good position, and acquire taxable property, I would say, if he is educated, let him vote." "But the Nigger can't show himself a man when he isn't a man. I hold the Nigger ain't a man at all." "Not a man!" "No, sir; not in the same way as a white man is. There's forty-one points of difference between the Nigger and the white man. There are the thick lips; there is the flat skull; the flat nose; the kinky hair,—in fact, it ain't hair at all, it's wool." "Here," says our author, "he went on with his enumeration until he had got to about the twenty-eighth point of difference, which brought him about half

way down the Negro's body, when the Virginian interrupted him by saying—"That's all very well, and I don't say that the Negro is equal to the white man. All I say is, that he is a man; that he belongs to the human family. He is the child of Ham, and Ham was the child of Noah, as much as Shem or Japheth were." "But that's where we differ," said the other. "I say he ain't the child of Ham, and he ain't the descendant of Noah any more than my horse is. Noah, sir, was a white man, and if he was a white man, and if he had a white wife, as he had, how could he have a Nigger child? You say, Noah cursed Ham. Well, suppose he did. Would that give him a flat nose and kinky hair, and make a Nigger of him? No, sir; my opinion is the Nigger don't come from Adam at all. He hangs on a different part of creation altogether. The only children of Adam that got into the ark were Noah, and his sons, and his sons' wives, and they were all white; and as the Nigger must have got in too, else he wouldn't be here, I reckon he must have got in amongst the beasts."

He then went on to express the opinion that it was the Negro who deceived Eve in the garden of Eden. "Don't Scripture say the tempter was more subtle than all the beasts of the field? Well, now, ain't that the Nigger photographed to a T?—a beast, but more subtle, more intelligent, more like a real man than any other beast." "That's new doctrine," said the Virginian, with a laugh. "It ain't, it's as old as Scripture," said the other. "If it was the Negro that deceived Eve, he must have been a mighty deal handsomer than he is now," said the Virginian. "But what do you make of the curse about his crawling on the earth and eating dust?" "It's God's truth," said the Mobile man. "Don't you see the Niggers often lying and crawling about? There's nothing they like better; and they do it more in Africa than here. I reckon we kept them on their feet considerable; but they will be at it again by and by, now they've got no master. And as for eating dust or dirt," he added "the Nigger always does

that when he can't get better. He eats fuller's earth, and what's fuller's earth but dirt?"

Then, referring to a book which he had been reading on the subject, he said, "That book makes it as clear as day that though the Nigger is called a man in the Bible, it don't mean a real man like you or me. When God came to make the real man, the white man, Adam, He said, 'Let us make man *in our own image*,' meaning that He had already made a kind of man—that is, the Nigger—not in His own image, but with flat skull, thick lips, woolly head, flat nose, and no soul in him. Scripture calls the Nigger a man, but it calls Adam *the* man, the white, real man, the son of God. Then, here's another point: Don't the Bible tell us that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, or seductive, and went and married them? Well, now, if the sons of God were the children of Adam, where did the other men come from that had these daughters? What were they? Why, there's only one explanation, and that is, that they were Niggers. And God's curse came on the white men for marrying them, and producing a race of mulattoes—a kind of animal that is neither man nor beast. That's what God brought the flood for, to sweep away the mongrel race; that's what He rained fire on Sodom for; and that's what He'll bring a judgment on these United States for, if we don't look out. That's the one unpardonable sin, sir, miscegenation—spoiling a good man and a good nigger to make a mulatto. I love the Nigger in his proper place; but his place is not as the white man's equal, but as his slave. God gave the white man dominion over the fowls of the air, and over the fish, and over the beasts, and therefore over the Nigger."

The Froudes, the Freemans, and the Keanes are not far behind this absurdly prejudiced Mobile man.

Here are the remarks of an American clergyman upon the late war and upon slavery.<sup>1</sup> "The recent war shows that we are all born under bondage to the Government, which can press a man into its service as soon as he is

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<sup>1</sup> "The Americans at Home."



twenty-one, and even sooner. Many white men, therefore, who died in this war, both Yankees and Southerners, were never free; they passed from the bondage of their fathers into bondage to the Government. A woman, again, is under bondage to her husband for the rest of her life, &c. . . . But you say, that slavery went much further than all this. Well, so it did, but that arose out of the necessities of the case. Depend upon it, sir, when an inferior race exists side by side with a superior, there are only two ways of escape from extermination; the first is amalgamation, and the second is bondage. Amalgamation with Negroes is not to be mentioned. There is a natural and unconquerable repugnance to it. The only alternative was bondage—an *imperium in imperio*—a republic for the whites, a patriarchal system for the blacks. They needed protection; they needed tutelage; they were happier in slavery; and it will by and by be manifest to you, as it has long been manifest to us, that they are not fit for freedom. God, sir, in His providence, has been pleased to try free communities a dozen times in the history of the world, and the result has always been the same. Your Negroes were set free in the West Indies. What has been the result there? Most of the white people have gone back to England, and most of the black people have gone back to the bush. The free Negroes in the South, too, were always diminishing, while those in slavery multiplied and prospered. They are diminishing everywhere, and sooner or later they will disappear from the face of this continent. Yes, sir, we fought more for the good of the black than of the white man. At least, we believe so.”<sup>1</sup>

We would point out, in passing, that the remarks of this model shepherd, that, in the West Indies, “most of

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<sup>1</sup> We are informed that one calling himself the Rev. Hasskari, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., has recently written a book, in which he professes to prove that the Negro is not a descendant of Adam, but from Darwin's missing link; that the Negro did not enter the ark as a human being, and therefore there is no use attempting to convert him to Christianity. This effort is, no doubt, one of the latest manifestations of the insanity of colour hate.

the black people have gone back to the bush," may be taken as a fair sample of that recklessness of language, and utter disregard for facts, which characterise the efforts of certain minds when they venture upon a discussion of the question of the Ethiopian.

The views of this most excellent Christian Minister were delivered some thirty years ago, but as showing how signally time has failed to mitigate, even in the smallest degree, the frenzied hatred of the Southern Church towards the Negro, we will quote from the last edition of Sir Charles Dilke's "Problems of Great Britain," published in 1890. "At the present moment," says that distinguished statesman and author, "in some of the States, the most cultivated black woman of the South is made to travel in the Negro 'car,' which is generally an *inferior* car, while the 'ladies' car,' set aside for white women, carries the roughest emigrant women from the lowest classes of Europe. It is difficult to imagine that such a state of things can long continue, and it is a curious example of the way in which any abuse may be defended from habit, to find Ministers of the Christian Church writing in defence of the doctrine of the separation of the races. 'The white man's church,' which is open to the greatest criminal, and which is supposed to welcome all, is closed in some parts of the English-speaking world to the black face alone, and Christian men and Christian Ministers are found to defend the practice, of which the dangers are, however, grave." "Quite recently I was hearing of a Negro gentleman from the West Indies, where the dementia of colour prejudice does not assume the maniacal type of the Southern States of North America, who visited a certain State in the South. Being somewhat incredulous about the information, that the blacks were prohibited from worshipping with the whites, he determined to test the accuracy of the intelligence. Accordingly one Sunday forenoon he entered one of the white churches, and quietly sat down in a pew nearest the door. Presently an official came up and asked what he wanted. The officer then

informed him that he could not worship there. The gentleman answered, that he was a stranger, a native of the British West Indies, and that he desired to attend the service there that forenoon. With a scornful smile, and in a tone full of irony, repeating the phrase, 'a native of the British West Indies,' the officer hurried away, and returned soon after in company with another person. Again the order to leave was renewed, and this time in a tone, and with a gesture so menacing, that the stranger fled from the church as from a pest-house."

This is the practical interpretation that the Church of the United States gives to the commands of the Saviour. And the key to this burlesque of Christianity, presented in these extracts, is contained in the single phrase, "the white man's church." No truer, no better, no more fitting appellation could have been chosen for this church. It is "the white man's church," it is not Christ's Church; and because Christ has been deposed and the white man enthroned, with his Master the black man has been excluded too.

But one of the most striking anomalies of this situation is the fact, that the Southern Church of the United States has sent missionaries from her fold to teach the Negroes in Africa that "God is no respecter of persons"; "that He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth"; that "if a man love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" So that whilst, for example, through her missionaries, this Church is striving to impress the truth upon the minds of the Africans in Africa, "*that God hath made of one blood all nations of men,*" &c., with the energy of violence, she tries to intimidate the African in her midst into believing that God has made of *two bloods* all nations of men, and that the blood of the white man in general, and of the Anglo-Saxon in particular, is the best of all; that God *is* a respecter of persons, that in His eyes the person of the white man is especially sacred,

whilst the black in His sight is as the beast of the field. In Africa this Church declares to the African that it is his solemn duty to love his brother ; but to the African in the South, she is as emphatic in declaring that it is her solemn and sacred duty to hate and abhor him. Such is the extraordinary and unenviable position of this section of Christendom.

The Reformation was to the world what the storming of the Bastille was to the unfortunates confined within its dismal enclosures. The intellect was in the cell of despotic bigotry ; the conscience in the haunts of the wild beasts, venomous reptiles, stinging insects, and noxious vermin that prowled and crawled about the precincts of the dungeon, while the inmates spun out their dreary life in ignorance, superstition, and intolerance. It was to this frowning structure that the Reformation directed its cannons and its battering-rams, until the proud fortress was laid beneath its own ruins. But whilst Protestantism stands forth conspicuously as the champion of truth and liberty, she has yet to learn from Roman Catholicism the lessons of human equality and Christian brotherhood. We are, therefore, in full accord with the following remarks, which we quote from Dr. Blyden's excellent book, "Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race," p. 258 : "The Roman Catholic Church respects the races. It holds to the belief that those words which declare that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' are words of inspiration. It recognises in the calendar Negro saints, and there are in the cathedrals the statues and representations of holy men of the African race. In Roman Catholic countries Negroes have always had a fair chance. I have read of Negroes in Brazil, in Peru, and even in Cuba, and I have seen them in Venezuela, occupying civil, military, and social positions, to which they may aspire in vain in Protestant countries. This, however, it is sometimes said, is owing, not so much to the teachings of the religion as to the peculiar disposition of the Celtic races, who are largely

Roman Catholic. The caste feeling, it is alleged, is not so strong in the Celt as in the Anglo-Saxon. I do not know whether that distinguished nobleman, the Marquess of Bute, has Celtic blood in his veins, but he has recently selected a Negro sculptress to execute for him an important piece of artistic work.

“These are facts in the history of Roman Catholics—not eulogies of the Church of Rome. They are great truths to be recognised in all the estimates we may form of the relations of that Church to the work to be done on this great continent (Africa), and to the race to which we belong. We may say that the Romish Church has its irregularities, but so has the Protestant Church.”

We have been observing the feelings of the white races, and chiefly the Anglo-Saxon race, towards the coloured races, as it finds expression, partly in words and partly in works, and now we proceed still further to trace this feeling as it finds expression in their works.

Like letters of fire emblazoned on the midnight sky, so the splendid resolution, unwearied diligence, and immense sacrifice of the Anglo-Saxon race—especially the British branch—loom, in the dark past of African history, as the light that showed the way out of the darkness of slavery and the slave-trade. And as stars bedecking the firmament that is swayed by the majestic orb of night, so the deeds of these nations towards the emancipated—educational and philanthropic—cluster around that great act of magnanimity. But as regards the American Commonwealth, it must be admitted that, although covering a large and important part of the obligations subsisting between the commonwealth and its younger citizens, philanthropic and educational operations do not embrace the whole range of obligations, since they practically leave the political sphere untouched.

The Puritans, whose emigration to the Middle Atlantic Coast began in 1620, had exchanged their homes with their advantages, associations, and traditions, for the solitude and peril of a wilderness inhabited by strange and

savage men. They made this seemingly disadvantageous exchange as a protest, and as a defence, of that inalienable right of man—the freedom of conscience. But those who bought this freedom for themselves at so high a cost, proceeded to build up a system in the New World which bound the bodies, minds, and consciences of some members of the race to the will of their masters. For over two centuries the hateful slave system flourished, until it became evident that it threatened to poison the nation with its vile exhalations, and then it was destroyed, burying in its ruins some 600,000 men, and some sixteen hundred millions of treasure, but giving the liberty of their manhood to some 7,000,000 of slaves. Born and nurtured amid the worst surroundings of perverse human passion, against their will these African people had been forced across the seas, and thrust into a relentless servitude. For more than two centuries these slaves had toiled to meet the demands of an implacable tyranny and an insatiable greed, when the exigencies of political conditions struck the yoke from off their necks, and admitted them as free citizens of the United States. By a cut of the sword and a stroke of the pen, the slaves became the partners of the race which, for twenty centuries, has been harnessed to the car of civilisation.

But how will these emancipated slaves act in this fresh, and, for them, altogether unique, relationship? Will they break away to roam in the pastures of irresponsibility and indifference? Will they be content with simply the trappings, and allow themselves to be dragged along on the journey? Or will they, moving forward, and tightening the traces, assist in pulling along the chariot? Which of these attitudes will they assume?

As enabling us to arrive at a right answer, a few facts may be given. During the late Rebellion, between the Federal and Confederate States, which lasted for some four years, almost all the *men* of the South were drafted into the ranks of the Confederate army, and their homes, their property, their wives, and their children, were all left

to the mercy of their slaves. Had these slaves been of a vindictive temper, such an opportunity would have been a most favourable one for reprisals upon the representatives and defenders of a system, whose harshness and cruelties had turned the lives of these slaves into a living death. Had they been a lustful race, the facilities of which they were now complete masters would have been employed for wrecking the homes of their oppressors. Had they been a race devoid of the instincts of honour, when all doubt concerning the future had been laid to rest by the victories of the North, they would have helped themselves freely to the property which their toil had either created or augmented, and would have sought security within the Northern States, whose soil had already been consecrated to the service of freedom.

But what are the actual facts? Has there ever been a charge of misappropriation of property, of desertion, of violation, preferred against a single slave, during that long and momentous struggle? And could any other race, under similar circumstances, have placed on record nobler examples of self-control, fidelity, and generosity?

We recall to the minds of our readers another fact. The Negro has been a slave in the United States for nearly 250 years, and, during that time, it has been held illegal for any one to teach him even the alphabet, or for him to attempt self-instruction. It was in the interest of slavery that the door of knowledge should be entirely closed and barred against the slave, and that his mind should be kept enveloped in the grossest darkness. But now that the law of compulsory ignorance has been rescinded, and liberal-minded Christians have gone to the South in order to give the slave the light of knowledge, is he found willing to accept it?

Let us hear what an unprejudiced and duly qualified witness has to say on this matter. Let us listen once more to Mr. Macrae. This gentleman testifies that when Sherman's army took Savannah, Schools were opened for the blacks at Bryant's Slave Market, where, only a few

days previously, slaves had been sold. He tells us that the school was no sooner opened than it was crowded with *five hundred black children*. And, as a proof of the intelligent and deep interest taken by their parents in the advantages thus offered to their children, he cites the fact that, on the opening day of the school, the parents contributed, there and then, for the support of the teachers £200.

From the same authority we learn, that in the State of South Carolina, there were 25,000 freedmen able to read the Scriptures, who were utterly unable to do so before the war. In Virginia, and under the same circumstances, there were 50,000. In Texas 50,000. Whereas in Louisiana, the blacks who were then able to read had, with incredible rapidity, become equal in number to the whites.

Following the scholars to their homes, who in school are so attentive and painstaking, we can find no abatement of their ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. At night, not only they but also their seniors, men and women, young and old, are busy trying to master the contents of their books.

But will this first excitement after knowledge last? We will see what two highly qualified observers have to say on the matter. In his fourth edition of "Greater Britain" (1890), Sir Charles Dilke says: "There are now in the South great numbers of admirable High Schools for blacks, and there are Universities for blacks turning out excellent students."

Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," third edition (1895), describes the same condition as then existing, which Mr. Macrae, twenty-five years before, had observed and narrated. Mr. Bryce says: "There is something pathetic in the eagerness of the Negroes—parents, young people, and children—to obtain instruction. They seem to think that the want of it is what keeps them below the whites, just as, in the riots which broke out in South Carolina during Sherman's invasion, the Negro mob burnt a library at Columbia, because, as they said, it was from the books that the 'white folks got their sense,' and they have



a notion (which, to be sure, is not confined to them) that it is the want of book-learning which condemns the vast bulk of their race to live by manual labour ; and that, therefore, by acquiring such learning they may themselves rise in the industrial scale."

The third fact to which we allude, is the material progress which the Negro has made during his thirty-three years of freedom in the United States. Unlike the Hebrew Race who, on leaving their bondage, had been divinely instructed to take advantage of the free gifts of their oppressors, the Negro had emerged from his servitude in the deepest poverty. The road upon which he entered after his release from bondage was by no means favourable to easy or rapid progress. Nay, it was precipitous, narrow, and extremely rugged. Nevertheless, it is officially declared that, spite of his adverse and distressing circumstances, he has accumulated taxable property, since his emancipation, amounting to over \$14,000,000.

The first of our facts testifies to that "gentleness and essential nobility" which, according to Sir C. Dilke (p. 105), the "Ultra Southerners" admit is the birth characteristic of the Negro. The second and third facts prove the possession of an eager desire to attain knowledge, and secure wealth. Is it likely then that the Negro will shirk the responsibilities of citizenship? Surely we may say that, starting with the qualities of self-control, fidelity, and generosity, which we have seen manifested by the Negro under very trying circumstances, and adding to them his successful effort to gain both knowledge and property, he has not only shown himself desirous of taking his full share in the duties of citizenship, but he has shown himself also as having both the ability and the attainments for the faithful discharge of those responsibilities.

There is another feature in the character of the American Negro to which some reference should be made. The velocity with which the war was devouring the white men of the North, during the Civil War, led to the suggestion of employing the Negroes as soldiers. Such a suggestion

naturally evoked considerable mirth in some quarters, and in others it was greeted with derision and disdain. Some, who professed the gift of prophecy, declared that were the Negro to be made a soldier, at the first sound of his old master's whip he would run off like a whipped dog. And if the demand for more men had not seriously increased, the augury of these oracles would have prevailed, and the world would have heard nothing of Negro soldiers in the late war. But before the growing need race-prejudice had to retire, at any rate, from that part of the field, and Negroes were allowed to don the United States uniform, and within two years nearly 100,000 raw and undisciplined ex-slaves were moulded into an effective body of fighting men.

As showing the behaviour of these men in action, I will select out of a number of cases one example, given by Colonel Higginson, who commanded a regiment of emancipated slaves up the St. Mary's River.<sup>1</sup> This officer, in his official report, stated that he found in the black troops a fiery energy beyond anything of which he had ever read, unless it were the French Zouaves. "During our first attack," he continues, "before I could get them below, they crowded at the open end, loading and firing with inconceivable rapidity, and saying to each other, 'Neber gib it up.' When collected in the hold they actually fought each other for places at the few portholes, from which they might fire upon the enemy. The black gunners, under Mr. Heron of the gunboat, did their duty without the slightest shelter, and with great coolness, amid a storm of shot. The secret of our safety lay in keeping the regiment below, except the gunners; but this required the utmost energy of the officers, as the men were wild to come on deck, and even implored to be landed on the shore, and allowed to charge the enemy." The following is Geo. H. Baker's <sup>2</sup> description of the first charge of the Black Regiment—

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<sup>1</sup> "The Americans at Home."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

"Dark as the clouds of even  
Ranked in the western heaven.

\* \* \* \*

So still and orderly,  
Arm to arm, knee to knee,  
Waiting the dread event  
Stands the Black Regiment.

Down the long dusky line  
Teeth gleam and eyeballs shine,  
And the bright bayonet,  
Bristling, and firmly set,  
Flashed with a purpose grand  
Waiting, till stern command  
Of the fierce-rolling drum  
Told them their hour had come—  
Told them that work was sent  
For the Black Regiment.

'Now !' the flag-sergeant cried,  
'Though death or hell betide,  
Let the whole nation see,  
If we're fit to be free !'

\* \* \* \*

Oh, what a shout there went  
From the Black Regiment.

'Charge !'—trump and drum awoke,  
Onward the bondmen broke  
Bayonet and sabre-stroke ;  
Vainly opposed they rush  
Through the red battle's crush,  
On through the flickering brands,  
Onward with hundred hands ;  
Down they tear man and horse,  
On in their awful course  
Tramping with bloody heel  
Over the crashing steel,  
All eyes forward bent  
Rushed the Black Regiment.

'Freedom !' their battle-cry—  
Freedom or leave to die  
Not then a party shout ;  
They gave their spirit out,  
Trusted the end to God  
And on the gory sod  
Rolled in triumphant blood,

Glad to strike one free blow,  
Whether for weal or woe—  
Glad to breathe one free breath,  
Though with the lips of death.  
Wishing, alas ! in vain,  
That they might fall again  
Only once more to see  
That burst to liberty."

General Francis A. Walker, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," speaks of the coloured people of the United States as an "all but inconsiderable fraction," and so they are, when we consider that the white population is seven times greater than they ; and yet this "all but inconsiderable fraction" of the American nation does not seem to be so unimportant as the ill-treatment and abuse which they receive in the States would lead one at first sight to suppose. The Negro is an "all but inconsiderable fraction" of the American people, yet even on such an occasion as the recent Spanish-American war his services had to be requisitioned. And this is what the *Star of Zion* says about the manner in which he acquitted himself. "The Spanish Commander, who was strongly entrenched behind the hills which were stormed and taken by this cavalry of Negroes and Rough Riders, was amazed, and said 'We have never fought such troops before. The more terrific the fire, the faster they advanced. We are not used to men who fight that way.' The white soldiers declare that these black soldiers fought like mad tigers ; others say they fought like devils. One black soldier who was shot in the thigh, coolly knelt behind a rock loading and firing, and when told by one of his comrades that he was wounded, said carelessly, 'Oh, that's all right, that's been there for some time.' When our white soldiers looked at these black heroes gallantly rushing up the hills under a galling Spanish fire, and putting the Spaniard to flight after several of the Rough Riders had been shot down, they shook the earth cheering them ; from field and camp cheer after cheer went up. And when the black boys returned to their tents the white soldiers, forgetting their prejudice, caught them up and

carried them around, cheering." Referring to the same subject, the *Philadelphia Press* remarks, "We could clearly see the wonderful work the dusky veterans of the Tenth Cavalry were doing. Their accuracy of aim was perhaps never before equalled under like circumstances."

From the savagery of African barbarism, the American Negro passed into the savagery of American slavery ; and in that dungeon of torment he remained for almost two centuries and a half. With no previous preparation whatever for the next great part he was to play, he was suddenly hurried upon the stage of freedom, to act the intricate and important part of an American citizen. How he has succeeded in the extremely novel, and almost wholly unprecedented, situation we have been considering. We have seen with admiration those qualities of self-control, fidelity, generosity, and valour, that he brought to the new and great task assigned him. With real pleasure we have watched the earnestness and devotion with which he entered upon the acquisition of two of the essentials of citizenship, viz., intelligence and property. And, with unbounded satisfaction, we have noticed the success with which, in these directions, his efforts have been crowned. Now, what ought to be the treatment meted out to a race so heavily encumbered at its starting with the weights of its past disadvantages? Should such a race be pursued with the hostility of slights, insults, abuse, vilification, ostracism, deprivation of the means of earning a livelihood, violence to property, and violence to life, all making up an endless round of humiliation and degradation? A race whose behaviour to its fellow citizens is marked with propriety ; whose services to the Republic are acknowledged ; and whose qualities and qualifications are undisputed and indisputable ! Is this the treatment that such a people deserve at the hands of their fellow citizens who, themselves, for many centuries have lived under the highest advantages, spiritual, mental, and material? Is this the treatment that it ought to receive from a Government that is professedly strong and Christian?

It may be well for us to inquire more carefully what has been the treatment of the Negro Race in the American Republic. Mr. Davey sums it up in the words, "Absolute loathing." This shows itself in the Southern States, as we have seen, by an absolute refusal on the part of the whites to worship with the blacks. The presence of the worst criminal in the sacred edifice, or the most notorious ruffian, would not disconcert the worshippers, providing his face is white ; whereas the most devout, cultured, and respectable person, whose face is black or brown, would throw the congregation into such a state of perturbation as would render his expulsion an absolute necessity. The discrimination extends to railway travelling, to places of amusement, Colleges, Schools, Hotels, &c. In railway travelling, a filthy car, known by the name of "Jim Crow," is the only part of the train in which members of the African race (whatever be their position or inclination) may ride. A coloured lady, while she is waiting for the train, is provided with a waiting-room possessing the same degree of loathsomeness as the filthy "Jim Crow" car. A seasoned criminal, just released from his last long imprisonment ; the debauchee, who is reeking in the abominations of his immoral excesses ; or a woman of the loosest character, are all, providing only they are white, comfortably and decently sheltered while waiting for a train ; and they may, when the train arrives, travel in whatever compartment they please. But an Afro-American—female as well as male—however blameless in character, and cultured in taste and in manners, however able and anxious to pay for the care and comforts of more expensive travelling, is condemned to a squalid shelter while waiting, and when the train arrives, he or she must submit to the filth and misery of the "Jim Crow" car.

But it may be said, How can it be otherwise ? Is not colour of greater importance than wealth, intelligence, or even character ? And is not the object of these studiously planned distinctions to degrade the Ethiopian, to let him feel that, whether he be rich or poor, erudite or ignorant,

honest or dishonest, respectable or disreputable, all members of his race must move on a lower level, and that the best among his race, as well as the worst, the highest as well as the lowest, are all inferior to the lowest of the whites? Are these not the tendencies, yea the aims, of this elaborate system of proscription?

#### THE CONVICT LEASE SYSTEM.

What is known as the "Convict Lease System" provides another step downward for the ladder of Negro degradation. This system was instituted by the South immediately after it had recovered its political ascendancy, of which the attempted secession from the Union had for a time deprived it. The leasing, or hiring out, of prisoners, is the work of this system. The methods of disposing of convicts varies in different States, but the following may perhaps be regarded as the typical method in those States. There is, first of all, a class of prisoners that works under contract within the walls of the prison. Such persons are under the control of the State officers; and on this plan they are provided with proper food, sufficient clothes, shoes, &c., and in case of sickness have the services of a doctor. Religious instruction is also provided for these convicts through a prison chaplain.

The second class of convicts consists of those who are employed *outside*, on public works belonging to the county in which they are convicted, and whose prisoners they are, or they are leased by that county for a term of years to other counties.

The third class consists of prisoners who are leased by their county, not to other counties, but to individuals.

As the convicts under these two last plans are removed from the oversight of the prison officials of their own State, they are subject to every form of ill-treatment by which the system is in danger of being prostituted. The prisoners that swell the ranks of the convicts so leased, even where the blacks and whites are in equal numbers in the State, or

where the former are outnumbered by the latter, are drawn almost exclusively from the black population. Take the State of Georgia as an example. We find there that, although the white race far outnumber the blacks, yet the number of persons convicted from the latter is fifteen to one from the former. In South Carolina, it is one Negro convicted in 1,488 blacks ; whereas among the whites it is one white in 15,644. These facts go to show how profoundly the Negro race in the South is affected by the "Convict Lease System." Prisoners are leased for terms varying from five to twenty years. And crimes for which they are convicted include such offences as larceny, insolence to the whites, refusing to travel in the "Jim Crow" car, &c. In the leasing out of prisoners, the lessee approaches the row of convicts drawn up in line. He then scrutinises them, asks such questions as will help in the selection of the fittest, commands them to run, jump, lift heavy weights ; he pinches and punches them, feels different parts of their bodies, and, if satisfied with the appearance and condition of the human chattel, he bids as his judgment may direct, and, according to the rules of the auction block, the highest bidder gets the bid. Prisoners thus leased to private persons are made to work on cotton plantations and wheat farms, in turpentine distilleries, saw-mills, brick-yards, phosphate mines, coal and iron mines, in making railroads, in short, they are made to do any and every kind of work that may be demanded of them. In some States, individuals have the monopoly of leasing convicts ; and they often sublet them. In some of these so-called "convict camps," women and boys, and girls of tender age, who may never have been in prison before, are not only put to such laborious tasks as digging ditches, but they are made to work along with prisoners who are steeped in crime. The day's work ended, the convicts are marched home ; chained, it may be, in gangs, and strongly guarded by men who are armed with Winchester rifles. Returning to their desolate shelters, after perhaps sixteen or more hours of toil, and sometimes drenched with the rain, these wretched creatures



have served out to them corn-bread and fat bacon. In some camps the food that is thus served out is utterly rotten.

We learn from Mr. D. E. Tobias, a young Negro reformer of North Carolina, U.S.A., who is fighting this diabolical system of Convict Leases, and to whose pamphlet<sup>1</sup> we are mainly indebted for our information, that in some of the county camps, sixty and more convicts—men, women, and children—are herded together in rooms of the smallest dimensions, rooms scarcely provided with windows, and almost entirely without ventilation. These shelters are not furnished with bunks or mattresses, and so the convicts are forced to sleep on the bare ground. One result of this promiscuous herding is, that many children are born and schooled in these dens of vice. Many of these lessees neglect to provide the convicts with clothes, shoes, or even a fire in the winter-time. Besides neglect, convicts are also made to endure great cruelties. In some camps they are flogged with what is called a "paddle," an instrument with a handle sixteen inches long, made of heavy wood, which has attached to it a piece of leather of the same length, and five to six inches wide. Besides flogging with the paddle, convicts are sometimes almost asphyxiated with cold water. In Wilkes County, Georgia, we are told, an old coloured man was whipped so savagely, in 1897, that in an exhausted condition from loss of blood, he fell down, saying, "Boss is going to kill me?" "Yes," was the reply of the white boss. The poor old man begged to be killed outright. After beating his victim almost to death, this "white boss" chained him to a tree, where death came, and released him from his agonies.

"Women and girls are treated in the same manner as men and boys; utterly nude, they are whipped in their presence. A young girl in Wilkes County, Georgia, was ordered to put on man's attire, and join the men in digging ditches. She refused, whereupon she was stripped and beaten in the presence of the men and boys." After lessees

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<sup>1</sup> "Free but not Freed." S. H. Burrows & Co.

have had their working expenses reimbursed, and a substantial profit, States have realised from the lease of their convicts, annually, \$21,000, \$100,000, and \$250,000. According to the "Penitentiary Report" of 1897, Florida derived from this source alone \$21,000; Texas, \$100,000; Tennessee, \$100,000. And so popular is the system in the Southern States, that, excluding minor officials, it numbers among its patrons, Congress-men, Senators of the United States, and even Governors of States.

In his message to the Legislature, in the year 1874, the Governor of Georgia announced that "the number of convicts is increased to 684; of men ninety are whites, and 574 coloured; of women one white and nineteen coloured. I would suggest," he continues, "a longer lease than two years. (The result of this suggestion being that the term of lease has been raised from two up to twenty years.) The profitable employment of so large a force would involve a heavy outlay on the part of the contractors. "Of the convicts in the Penitentiary, five to one are coloured persons; most, if not all, of whom, by reason of their ignorance and former habits of life, can never be profitably employed in any of the mechanical arts." The Governor of Georgia was evidently a homœopathist, hence his proposal and attempt to cure like with like—ignorance with ignorance, and slavery with slavery.

Commenting on the "Convict Lease System," in Boston, February 12, 1898, Mr. George Kennan, the well-known Siberian explorer, said: "I suppose you good Americans would be incredible, would say I was a liar, if I should say to you that right down in our Southern States I have seen some terrible sights. I have seen a string of twenty-five convicts—old, bent men and young boys—almost bound together by iron chains, and a heavy iron round the neck of each. I have seen many things which have convinced me of the evils of the system of leasing out convicts to cruel and unscrupulous employers; and I think that system should be abolished. I saw some pretty bad sights in Siberia, but I am serious when I declare that I have seen

worse sights in the South ; and in this there is abundant food for reflection for the moralists and reformers of this country."

Assuredly this system has both the deep tinge, and the insufferable stench, of slavery. But it is even worse than slavery ; for self-interest, which in the time of slavery compelled the master to bestow on his slave the same care as he gave to his horse or cow, has now not only disappeared, but has been replaced by a deep-rooted and intensely bitter race hatred, which is fed by the prospect of gain.

Thus the "Convict Lease System" becomes one of the most powerful and effective engines for the moral, mental, material, and physical degradation of the Negro. It is sometimes pointed out that the whites are imprisoned, or rather leased, as well as the blacks ; but, in the first place, it should be remembered that that does not make a system right which places helpless men and women and children absolutely in the power of men whose one consideration is, to get out of their victims the greatest possible amount of gain. It should, in the second place, be remembered that the proportion of sentences, as between the blacks and the whites, is at least fifteen to one, and that from the unfavourable influence of race hatred, whilst the proprieties of law will be observed in the administration of justice on behalf of *whites* who are accused, and in the treatment of *whites* who are leased, in the case of the Afro-American, neither can the impartiality of justice be expected when he is in the position of the accused, nor can any hope of fair treatment be entertained when he is a convict.

We give an example of the attitude of the law in the bulk of the Southern States towards the Afro-American citizens. Three coloured citizens had been arrested and brought to trial before a special Court, on the threadbare charge of "an attack (?) on a reputable white woman." The arrests were made on pure suspicion, yet the whites talked of lynching the prisoners. This threat brought a number of Negroes into the court. Judge Banks, in summing up, instructed the jury to find a true verdict against

the accused if there were *the slightest warrant* for doing so. Then, turning to the coloured people, he made these observations: "You Negroes must go home and keep quiet. When your services are needed to protect the prisoners you will be sent for. Again I tell you, go home. This is a white man's country and a white man's court. You may as well know this, and keep in your place."

The American Negro may vainly expect impartiality before the law, when the judges inform him that "this is a white man's country and a white man's court. You may as well know this, *and keep your place.*"

#### NEGRO EXCLUSION FROM THE LABOUR MARKET.

Few things have greater potency in checking the social advancement of the Afro-American than that of closing the door of higher, and more remunerative, employments against him. In the American Labour Market, among the more important industries, there is only one to which the coloured citizen has absolutely free access, and that is the tobacco industry. The simple reason for this is, that he excels the whites in the skill that is necessary in the preparation of the tobacco. Recently the Afro-American has been allowed to work in the mines and ironfoundries of South-Eastern Tennessee and North Alabama. In these callings his work, both in quality and in quantity, has not been one whit behind that of white workmen, and yet it is quite the exception for him to receive the same wages as they do. The whites receive an average wage of \$2.50, but the Afro-American is only paid \$1.60.

Besides his admission into these forms of industry, the introduction of the Negro to a few other occupations has been due to the strikes of white labour, and to the Negro's resolute defence of the openings he has gained, even at the cost of his life. His presence as stevedore, in the Boston Labour Market; as cotton-handler in New Orleans; as miner at Dunbar, Pennsylvania, and at Spring Valley, Illinois, is the confirmation of this statement. Labour-

Unionism has thrown its great arm around the American Labour Market, in order to rescue wages from the caprice, and arbitrary enactments, of Capital ; to impart to it the cohesion necessary for withstanding the encroachments of Capital ; and to raise Labour to a place of dignity and respectability. But at the outset of its crusade there was an Institution that denied its doctrines and defied its pretensions. Labour-Unionism was conscious of the omnipotence of that Institution, and it was also conscious of its own impotence. It stormed, it raved, it anathematised, but the stolid citadel lived on, until causes entirely outside, both the scope and ability of Unionism, conspired to destroy the Institution of *Slavery*. With the fall of Slavery, the Institution that prostituted Labour was demolished, and the captives of that Institution were made free men. Free, and, moreover, willing, to receive the doctrines of Unionism ; free and willing, to conform to its precepts ; free, and willing, to unite in ensuring for Unionism the realisation of its mission. What an opportunity was within the reach of Unionism for strengthening its position ! It could never hope for a more favourable opportunity. Will Unionism capture the Negro ? Alas ! It could not, it dared not, for such an act would be regarded as a violation of the very first law of human inequality. The duty of Unionism, therefore, towards the Afro-American was thought to be, to shut him out of its ranks ; and to starve him by closing against him every avenue of profitable labour, and so, to get his bread, the Negro, who would have been a friend to Unionism, was found fighting it in 1894, when the Hungarians, at Dunbar, Pen., refused to allowed him to work ; at Spring Valley, Illinois, in 1895, when the Italians opposed him ; at New Orleans in 1895, and also at Boston. The Negro was fighting for bread, fighting the god *Colour* for bread.

The three most sacred bonds of humanity are those which unite the creature to his Maker ; those which unite him to the Family ; and those which unite him to the State. As an American slave, the Negro was not permitted to

realise the last two of these bonds. After the angel had proclaimed "liberty to the captives," rising to the occasion, American Statesmanship drafted, proposed, and carried two amendments to the National Constitution, in which the following changes were embodied. The fourteenth amendment says : "All persons born or naturalised in the United States of America are declared citizens of the United States, and of their States ; and the States are forbidden to abridge the 'privileges or immunities' of any citizen. The representation of the States in Congress is to be reduced in proportion to the number of persons whom they exclude from the election franchise." This amendment was passed in 1866. The second, called the fifteenth amendment, was passed by Congress in 1868, "forbidding the United States, or any State, to limit or take away the right of suffrage by reason of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." This amendment, being ratified by the number of States required, was incorporated in the Constitution in 1870. The fifteenth amendment was strengthened by the "Civil Rights Bill," passed in 1870, which provided for the imposition of fines and damages on any attempt to evade or to violate the fifteenth amendment, or any conspiracy to deprive the Negro of his vote. Again, in 1871, what is known as the "Force Act" was passed. This Act provided that any "conspiracy or combination strong enough to deprive the Negroes of the benefits of the fourteenth amendment should be evidence of a 'denial by the State of the equal protection of the law' toward all its citizens ; that the President should be empowered to use the army, navy, and militia to suppress such combinations ; that when any combination should appear in arms, the act should be a rebellion against the United States ; and that, in such case, the President have power to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus in the rebellious territory." It is quite apparent from the amendments and their supports, that as far as the Constitution is concerned, the Negro has not only been acknowledged as a man, and a citizen of the American Republic, but every means has been taken to

safeguard his interests in the exercise and in the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship.

#### NEGRO LYNCHING.

For a time the Negro did exercise these rights, but after a while the new system of law and order was swept away by what may be called a hurricane of lawless violence. And the South has been affected by these storms ever since. The "Night-Riders," or "Klu Klu Klans" would break into the houses of respectable coloured citizens at night, take out the husband, the wife, and the elder children, beat them mercilessly, and then leave them to return to their homes as best they could. The "Klu Klu Klans" were succeeded by another crew, known as the "Red Shirts." The purpose of the "Klu Klu Klans" was to terrorise the Negro; that of the "Red Shirts" was to deprive the Negro of his vote. And so the one crew prepared the way for the other. And the work of both has been continued by the still more barbarous practice of "Lynching." The usual occasion for lynching is indecent assault on reputable white women. What is said on this subject in the newspapers needs to be treated with a great deal of reserve. It cannot, of course, be said that no such cases have ever occurred, but the actual facts militate very strongly against the truthfulness of many or most of the accusations that have been made. If the numerous cases reported were true to fact, then it would be conclusively proved that the Negro is *naturally vicious*. But if he is, how could he have successfully concealed that sensual propensity for two and a half centuries without, at intervals, betraying its presence. And if he is naturally vicious, how did he keep from indulging his propensity during the four years of the Rebellion, when, as we have seen, he had exceptional opportunities for gratifying such a vice? The world would surely have heard of the outrages of that time of opportunity. But, instead of this, during these two important periods—one on account of its

length, and the other on account of its facilities—no hint has ever been given that the Negro was vicious, and no cases have ever been given indicating such acts of viciousness.

Then again, since gaining their freedom, during the "reigns of terror" under the outlawry of "Klu Klu Klans" and of the "Red Shirts," there has never been any charge made against the Negro of this viciousness. It must have been with the lynching, judging from the conduct of his accusers, that the Negro developed this vice, of which he is now so constantly accused, and for which he is too often violently murdered. And what gives a strange colour to these accusations is the fact, that when the morals of the Negro were supposed to be at the lowest, he was never found guilty of these crimes; but after he began to grow in intelligence, through education, and to improve in morals by systematic religious instruction, then it was that he became vicious; and then it was that the safety of white women was supposed to be jeopardised. Does it seem reasonable to believe that a naturally vicious race could have spent 244 years in the closest touch with another race, without the latter having discovered such a serious defect? Or does it seem reasonable to believe that the Negro, who was *not* vicious when his ignorance was densest and his morals were lowest, should become so after the light of intelligence had dawned upon his mind, and his moral nature had been raised to a higher level? If these suppositions are unreasonable, then the accusation of viciousness, as applied to the Negro, is *not sustained*.

How, then, may the practice of lynching be explained? The one great object of the South, and indeed of the entire American Union, is to keep the two races entirely apart; their worshipping in separate churches; their education in separate schools and colleges; their travelling in separate cars; and the passing of laws making inter-marriages between them irregular, point to this one purpose of keeping absolutely separate the two races.

But, notwithstanding all this show and parade, the



whites do not themselves keep inviolable the law of segregation, for which they profess to be so jealous ; and, like his neighbours, the Negro, too, sometimes transgresses. There is this important difference, *his* transgression is visited by the whites with the tortures of lynching.

Illicit intercourse is the sum and substance of all the blare and noise of the Southern Press about *rape*. If rape there be, the accusers are themselves quite as deep in the mire as the persons whom they accuse.

We give the views of an Afro-American gentleman, which we know are shared and expressed by reputable white Americans. In the course of an interview with the representative of a London Evening Paper, this gentleman replied to a question about the intermarriages of the whites with the blacks as follows : " Marriage between the whites and the coloured people is not allowed. Of that I do not complain. But I protest most emphatically against *the too common practice of some people to live, although unmarried*, with Negro women. It is a scandal that should not be tolerated."

Such laxity of morals *in the case of the blacks is rape*, and is punishable with death ; but in case of the *whites*, it is an innocent diversion that is beneath notice.

It is sometimes stated, that the better class citizens in the South are averse to lynching. And among high authorities representing this view is the Right Hon. J. Bryce, who, in his " American Commonwealth," says, " The better citizens disapprove of lynching, but, with American nonchalance, they decline to interfere."

The *Daily Commercial*, a highly influential newspaper of Atlanta, Georgia, and edited by the Hon. Benjamin M. Blackburn, in a leading article (July 23, 1897), lavished the most fulsome praise on the lynchers who had recently desecrated the soil of Georgia with their diabolical work. This article was sharply criticised by the Northern Press, which, among other things, said that " the better class people of Georgia are averse to lynching." The editor of the *Commercial*, in his reply, proceeded to combat this

assertion with arguments that seem so conclusive they may be reproduced here, although we emphatically disapprove of the style in which the writer expresses himself.

"The people of the North are bigger fools than we take them to be, if they accept, as a correct reflection of public sentiment in the South, the professions of certain papers on the lynching question. The people of Georgia favour lynching. Those who contend that lynching is confined to the lawless are a lot of infernal liars, who take people of the South for a lot of fools. We might as well be plain and honest about the matter. If their contentions are true, that the people forming such mobs are lawless and unrepresentative, why is it that these men, or some of them, are not sometimes punished? The governor offers rewards, but the older inhabitants never heard of one being claimed or paid. In the case of Griffin's lynching there was for the most part perfect order, and it is a well recognised fact, that in the crowd there were graduates of the State University, and some of the best people in Georgia, all of whom would compare well with the civilisation of any country on the face of the globe. There is nobody to prosecute these men, for it is impossible to get a grand jury in Spalding County to indict them."

These arguments apply equally to the other States where lynching is tolerated.

#### THE WORK OF THE NORTH ON BEHALF OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO.

By her gifts of men and means, the Northern States of the American Union have done, and are doing, among the Freedmen of the South a work that is almost beyond praise. Immediately after the Rebellion, her men and women, supported by her munificence, were poured into the South to direct the footsteps of the Emancipated and the Enfranchised Slaves into the paths of purity, of knowledge, and of industry. With a zeal and perseverance that are unsurpassed in the annals of Christian Philanthropy,

those noble bands of missionaries toiled and prayed until the seed sown began to germinate, and give promise of making the wilderness to blossom as a rose. But the North, whose beneficence and self-sacrifice have achieved, and are achieving, such splendid results, after clearing the field, ploughing it, harrowing it, and sowing the seed, when the seed is germinating, and a bountiful harvest is anticipated, deliberately goes and *sows tares in the field*. After sending her missionaries and her teachers to the South ; after setting up her Educational Establishments there ; after supporting them annually with millions of dollars ; after the freedmen, as the outcome of these activities, have begun to respond to the moral and intellectual benefits tendered them, the North persists in scattering the *tares* of Racial and Colour antipathy. Is it to be thought that the starving man, whom to-day you feed, and to-morrow you refuse to recognise in the street ; or whose manhood, after your acts of generosity toward him, you systematically outrage by humiliating distinctions ; is it to be thought that this man will only remember your generosity, and that the remembrance of it will quench the resentment instilled by your duplicity ? Would the painter be pleased with the man who, although professing ardent friendship for him, tears down his picture from the wall, and tramples it under his foot ? And can the Almighty, in whose name the North undertakes its work in the South, be pleased, or recognise friendship in this despising of the Ethiopian, which tramples under foot the work of His hand ?

It is idle for the North to complain of the excesses of the Southern States in their treatment of their fellow citizens of the African race ; the Southern treatment is no more than an extension and an aggravation of the Northern treatment. The North may write newspaper articles against Southern barbarities and atrocities, and may allow indignation meetings to be held in her midst, in which to plead against those atrocities. The North may even take part in these protests, but they will not avail to excuse it,

so long as, keeping up racial antipathy, the North is an accomplice, and an abettor, in the laying of the fuel that burns down the building.

The South professes to find justification for her fanatical excesses against the Ethiopians, by her fear of "Nigger Rule." The South regards its condition as unprecedented, and one that needs to be dealt with by repressive legislation and social custom. A similar sentiment seems to have possessed the Ancient Egyptians. A certain people went and dwelt among the Egyptians, and they began to multiply and increase, and these Egyptians became fearful lest these sojourners should come to rule over them. And in order to avert this danger, they resorted to repressive and oppressive measures. They did not exactly resort to the "Klu Klu Klans" or the "Red Shirt" iniquities, but they oppressed the strangers with a rigorous bondage.

Did this means secure the end desired? What then did the Egyptians do next? They next resorted to the method that is now followed by the South, they tried murder. And did this extreme attempt to repress the growth of this intrusive people succeed? And what was the end of the business? The end of it all was that the Egyptian army was overthrown in the Red Sea.

Will the South be any more successful in her bloody Crusade against the Ethiopian than the Egyptians were against the Hebrews? Never! The attempt to wipe out the Negro from American soil will be no more successful than was the effort made to perpetuate his slave-bondage. The South cannot ultimately prevail, because eternal justice and right are on the side of the Negro. The attitude of the South is the attitude of a man who, in a fit of uncontrollable rage, destroys his furniture and the contents of his wardrobe. Tables, chairs, sofas, pictures, books, chests of drawers, linen, are all lying in a confused heap outside in the yard. In the end, who will suffer, the furniture or the iconoclast? A man cannot play with fire and gunpowder, at the same time, and come off unscathed. No more can a nation, or any section of a nation, play

with the fire and gunpowder of lawlessness, oppression, and murder, and remain unscathed.

In these acts of violence and deeds of inhumanity, the South is breeding a contagion which—although in the heat of her passion she is unconscious of the mischief—is eating into the vitals of her morals, permeating every part of the national life with its deadly emanations, and it must, if persisted in, produce in the body-corporate serious and irreparable damage.

As if to excuse the extravagance of her wrath, and the vehemence of her hate, the South speaks of a "white man's government." Would that she were content with the mere iteration of this fine phrase. A "white man's government"? Did the Negro emigrate to the United States? Did he ask or volunteer to be taken there? Did he, by an act of usurpation, clothe himself with the panoply of American citizenship? Was he not against his will forced to the States? Was he not against his will enslaved there? As a slave, has not the Negro given his life for the independence of the Republic; and as a free man, has he not shed his blood for the Union? After 244 years of ruthless bondage, 244 years of unrequited service, did not those who enslaved him—to their credit be it said—eventually free him? And freeing him, did not the same hands invest him with the insignia of citizenship? As a free citizen is not the Negro contributing his share towards the commonweal of the Republic? And by virtue of his freedom, and of his citizenship, is he not a partner of that great firm, the American Republic? As a partner then, even if a "junior partner," has he not rights? And can those rights be set aside without violating engagements? Can they be ignored without inviting retribution? Why then continue to vaunt this obsolete phrase, "A white man's government"? Let the South give up the chase after phantoms, and the effort to accomplish the impossible, and let her instead "do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with her God."

The message sent by the President of the United States

to Congress, in April 1898, requesting its sanction to intervene on behalf of the rebels in Cuba, is, in some respects, a remarkable document. The most striking thing in it is its protest against the oppression of the weak by the strong.

"In the course of a struggle unequalled in the history of the island, rarely paralleled as to the number of the combatants, and the attempt of the contest by any revolution of modern times, where *a dependent people, striving to be free, have been oppressed* by the power of a Sovereign State . . . The grounds for intervention are, first, in the cause of humanity, to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and terrible miseries, now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. . . ." Misgovernment had sown in the breast of the Cuban the seed of suspicion; in time suspicion grew into distrust, and distrust into disloyalty. Finding utterance at first in murmurs, under the interminable irritant misgovernment, disloyalty broke out at length into the uproar of an unrestrained rebellion. Like the paroxysmal explosions of a volcano, rebellion continued its intermittent eruptions, with varying degrees of destructiveness, up to the recent outburst that called forth the President's message.

As the spokesman of the American people, the part of the situation in Cuba that seemed to have appealed most to the mind of the President was "where a dependent people, striving to be free, have been oppressed by the power of the Sovereign State," and the details of the situation, "created by the oppression of the Sovereign State," are "barbarities, bloodsheds, starvation, and horrible miseries." Such a situation, according to the American Government, was sufficient for an armed intervention, and such an intervention was at the dictates of "humanity." The war has happily had a speedy termination; but such were its uncertainties that, in undertaking it, the American people had to accept the possibility of having to provide for a long struggle. Now this "cause of the stranger," which the American

Government voluntarily and resolutely espoused, and for which it was prepared to expend, and has expended, millions of dollars and hundreds of lives, is, in some of its features, not unlike the cause and the condition of the Negro within its own territories. The phrase in the President's message which we would emphasise has a peculiar appropriateness to the condition of the Afro-American, especially if we substitute the words, "to advance," for "to be free," and so make it read: "A dependent people, striving to advance, have been oppressed," etc.

Reference has been made to a few of those impositions which constitute oppression. Mention has been made of the system of "Convict Lease" which condemns for crimes, of which some are of the most trivial kind, 70 per cent. of coloured Americans to five, or even to twenty, years of servitude, and to the tortures and cruelties that prejudice, and lust for gain, are capable of inflicting. Is there not oppression *here*? Allusion has been made to civil disabilities, to such as condemn every coloured person to ride in a certain car, and that would allow them, should they refuse, to be maltreated, and even to be imprisoned under "Convict Lease." Is there no oppression *here*? We have touched upon the systematic and organised mob-violence that has despoiled the Negro of his vote, and that continues, in the shape of lynching, and other forms of intimidation, to deprive him of this right. Is there no oppression *here*?

But we may be reminded that white men are lynched also. It must be admitted that they are, but what is the proportion between those of the two races who are lynched? And as regards the particular offence for which the bulk of the Negroes are lynched, we reasonably ask whether *white* men are lynched for vicious relations with *black women*. If they were, there would be such an equality in the lynching cases of the two races, that the lynching system would soon become a historical monstrosity.

"In 1892," says Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," though he hesitates to vouch for the truth of what he states, "there were 241 lynchings in the United States. Of these 200 were in the South. And of the 241 persons put to death, 161 were Negroes, and 80 were Whites. The Ethiopians, who number only seven or eight millions odd of the population, whilst the Caucasians number over fifty-four millions, are made to supply the lynching-market with 161 victims, whilst the latter contributes eighty."

With fine irony an American Encyclopædist announces, that *the Negro is steadily decreasing*. Speaking more authoritatively than Mr. Bryce, an American newspaper (August 25, 1897) has supplied us with the following facts in relation to lynching. The name of the paper is *The Telegraph*, and it is published at Macon, Georgia.

"Since January 1, 1897, there have been 97 cases of lynching in the United States, an average of over twelve per month. These have been divided out by States as follows:—Texas, 19; Alabama, 12; Mississippi, 10; Georgia and Louisiana, 8 each; Tennessee, 7; Florida, 6; South Carolina, Kentucky, and Arkansas, 5 each; Missouri, 3; Virginia, 2; Arizona and Maryland, 1 each. In the North, California, Ohio, Nevada, Alaska, and Illinois have had 1 each. Of the victims of these 97 lynchings, 80 have been Negroes, 14 Whites, and 3 Indians. Of the 80 Negroes lynched, 35 were killed for the crime of murder, while but 14 have been killed for rape, and 9 for attempting it. Of the remainder, 4 have been lynched for robbery, 3 for arson, 2 for suspicion of arson, 2 for race prejudice, 2 for murderous assault, 2 for unknown causes, and one for burglary, writing an insulting letter, eloping with a white woman, train-wrecking, refusing to give evidence, insults, and harbouring a murderer."

The writer of the paragraph then concludes with this comment: "We perceive, from all these statistics, that only about one-third of the lynchings have been the outcome of crimes against women, and that more are lynched for murder than for rape. If there were no lynchings at



all for the latter crime, the record would have been dreadful enough."

There are a few things to be noticed in this extract ; there is first of all its circumstantial account of lynching, in which an ample knowledge of facts is displayed. There is also the usual preponderance of Negroes amongst those lynched, amounting in this instance to 77 per cent. And taking the causes given, we have the committal of murder, such other offences as "refusing to give evidence," "insults," and "harbouring a murderer." We find two Negroes lynched for "race prejudice." This statement would have been more in harmony with the real facts of the case if, instead of two, it had said that 78 out of the 80 Negroes lynched had been victims of "race prejudice." Three Negroes lynched for arson, two on suspicion only. Four for robbery, 14 for so-called rape. One for eloping with a white woman. If this case had been reported in the newspapers when the murder was committed, it would most probably have been put as a case of rape ; it also goes to prove the contention, that the rape theory is a mere figment, and that the real and primary object of these lynchings, to put it more plainly than in the previous reference, is not to keep the races apart, for the white man does not practise what he preaches, but to keep black men from consorting with white women, honourably, or otherwise. Finally, this record of 97 executions by lynching (a record small in comparison with the previous list, and that will probably be smaller when compared with future lists), tells us that in the United States, which is a free country, a civilised country, a great country, and a Christian country, in the last years of the nineteenth century, 97 human beings, 97 citizens of those States, in eight months, have been lynched, without judge, jury, or law.

As to the enormities which attend the carrying out of these lynchings, we give some of the latest examples. The first is from Newman (Georgia), and it is reported in the newspapers of April 24, 1899.

"A Negro, named Sam Hose, was burned at the stake

near this place, yesterday, for killing a farmer named Cranford and outraging his wife a week ago. Before the torch was applied to the faggots, the ears, and fingers, and other portions of the man's body were cut off. Hose confessed to the murder of Cranford, and said he was ordered to commit the crime; but he denied having outraged his victim's wife. Before the body was cool, it was cut to pieces, the bones being crushed into small fragments. Even the tree to which the Negro was chained, was torn up, and divided as souvenirs. . . . The body of Sige Strickland, a Negro preacher, aged sixty, from whom the lynched man Hose alleged that he had received twelve dollars to kill Cranford, was found this morning swinging from the branch of a tree a mile from Palmetto, with his ears and fingers cut off. . . . It is now stated that Hose implicated the preacher Strickland just before he was burned. Kerosene was poured over Hose's body and wood was piled up all about his feet. As the flames crept up, Hose, by a terrible plunge forward, severed the upper portions of the chains binding him to the tree. His body was thus held to the tree only as far as the thighs, and the upper part, thus thrown forward, escaped the flames which roared and crackled round his feet. One of the lynchers quickly pushed the body back, and recoupled the disjointed chain, saying, 'Get back into the fire there.' A yelling mob of 2,000 persons witnessed the scene. . . . An Atlanta telephone from Palmetto states, that the mob which lynched Strickland captured Albert Sewell, a Negro, who had declared that the death of every Negro should be avenged, and put him to death. The mob is said to be still hunting for Negroes, and it is feared that two more will be lynched."

The first of these paragraphs concludes, "The Governor has been asked to send troops, as vengeance is feared on the part of the Negroes." Thus the fiends who drink themselves drunk with these horrors are brave enough to commit them, but not brave enough to abide by the consequences, even where they outnumber the Negroes. So that

if the poltroons were unable to count upon the law to cover them, and their hellish proceedings, by means of its troops, they might never commit these infamies. History may be challenged to produce from its pages darker and bloodier deeds than these, and the most barbarous amongst the lowest types of men could not surpass the brutishness and beastiality of those 2,000 reputedly respectable and Christian citizens who came together on this occasion in order to witness the scene, and to approve it with their frantic yells. Such awful scenes make us ask, What is the difference between savagery and civilisation? Have worse tragedies than these been enacted in Cuba? Have the atrocities in Turkey excelled them? After referring to intermarriages of the races being forbidden in the South, a certain authority adds: "And it must, I fear, be added that, in some parts of the South, a white man would run less risk of being hanged for the murder of a Negro than a Mussulman in Turkey would for the murder of a Christian." The atrocity of the Turk is as the sudden onrush of a whirlwind, those of the American are as the methodical march of a powerful, and well-disciplined, army. The Turk sallies forth from his retreat, massacres and mutilates great bands, and then sheaths his sword. The American directs his energy to small bands, but for five-and-twenty years he has been slaughtering and mutilating without intermission. The religion of the Turk sanctions or commands his atrocities; the religion of the American *forbids* and *prohibits* his "barbarities," "bloodshed," and "horrible miseries"—the evils for the sake of which, on humanitarian grounds, America professed to have made war against Spain.

Yet, whilst the Turk is denounced and execrated, the American is flattered and petted. And why? Because the one is weak, and the other is strong; one is rich, and the other poor; one has the possibilities of a great army and navy, and the other is without these possibilities. Because one is a Mohammedan nation, the other a Christian; one of European origin, and the other is Asiatic. Thus it has

come about that right or wrong is right or wrong, not according to the nature of the act, but according to the position and prestige of the actor.

It is well known that in localities where coloured American citizens live in large communities, the outrages have at times become so intense, that they have had to flee to other places where their lives and property would be comparatively safe. It is no exaggeration to say, that at this very moment, the life and property of a respectable and law-abiding coloured citizen of the American Union, would be safer in so-called *savage Africa* than in many of the States of this *civilised Republic*. It is said, "There are already in the South eight millions of an inferior race, whose presence has brought unnumbered woes upon the Nation"; but wherein lies the superiority of the superior race? Is it in their kindness, fairness, generosity? Or is it in the faculty for gain, energy, mental and material power? It is not the presence of an inferior race that has brought unnumbered woes upon the Nation, but rather those sections of the Nation that have allied themselves with lawlessness, crime, and oppression, in order to prevent a race from showing itself superior to the disadvantages and encumbrances that degraded its youth. If the American Negro were really inferior there would be no race question to-day in America. Mr. G. W. Cable's words are to that effect, when he says: "The Negro's grievance is, that the discriminations made against him become more and more unbearable the better citizen he tries to be; that they are impediments, not to the grovelling of his lower nature, but to the aspirations of his higher." This alleged race inferiority is the translation of a wish.

To expect that any great voice would be raised against these wrongs, with which, for more than five-and-twenty years, a dependent people have been afflicted, would be to court certain and undisguised disappointment. For Politics would excuse itself on the ground of International complication. It would declare that its policy is to interfere in such matters only when there is nothing to lose, and

something to gain. It would assure you that such a contingency would have been perfectly practicable had the dominion of some savage chieftain been the theatre of these crimes ; that even the Sultan of Turkey might have been reminded of their existence if they had transpired within his jurisdiction ; but taking place under the ægis of a great and powerful Nation, it would be most unwise to make the remotest reference to them. Taking its stand on these same arguments, Commerce would counsel patience. And the Pulpit, being quite as wise as these two Powers, would inform you that, for prudential and patriotic reasons, it declines to listen to your plaint. She would tell you further of an alliance existing between herself and the spirit of the age, which makes it her fixed and unalterable resolve, never again to denounce or protest against any form of oppression or wrong, that may be practised by any one from whom she has or might have expectations.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE WEST INDIES AND THE SUGAR QUESTION

THE West Indies form part of the Archipelago beginning with Florida and Yucatan, and terminating by a curve towards the Northern Coast of South America. It flanks the Carribean Sea north and east, and separates it from the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. The southern and eastern extremity of the chain into which the islands are thus formed is composed of the two groups of British Colonies, known respectively as the Leeward and Windward Islands. The Bahamas are situated at the North of the upper third of the chain, and Jamaica, and its dependency—Grand Caman—are to the South of the chain. The places embraced by the designation British West Indies are British Honduras, on the mainland of Central America; the Bahamas, which consist of some five hundred islands and islets, and of which only twenty are inhabited, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Tobago; the Windward Islands, consisting of Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia; and the Leeward Islands, comprising Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, with its dependencies.

Excluding Honduras and the Bahamas, the other islands have an area of 116,451 square miles, and an aggregate population of 1,684,607. Reckoned per square mile, the

inhabitants number 144. The Imports are £7,618,322, and Exports £6,102,000. The discovery of these islands, together with the times and circumstances under which they passed into the possession of the British Crown, have been already dealt with.

The general paralysis with which the West Indies have been stricken for a great number of years, has in its onward course reached—or rather, accentuated its presence in—the organ which is considered to be the brain and heart of the industrial life of those Colonies, viz., the Sugar Industry. The deepest anxiety has consequently been aroused, and every means has been requisitioned, in order to cope with a malady likely to issue in the direst calamity. The medical attendants who have been called in are none other than the guardians of the industry, and are known as the “Sugar Planters.” Their diagnosis is, that the disease from which the Sugar Industry is suffering has been caused by the bounty given on Beet Sugar.

In the Report of the “West India Sugar Commission” (p. 66, paragraph 527) occurs the following passage: “The representatives of the Sugar Industry in the West Indies have had special means of influencing the Governments of the different Colonies, and putting pressure on the Home Government to secure attention to their views and wishes.” Using these “facilities,” or “means,” these doctors moved the local Legislatures, and finally the Home Government, to appoint a Commission of experts to make further examination, and officially report upon its condition. Accordingly a Commission was appointed, consisting of three gentlemen who, in the ability which they brought to the task, and in the thoroughness with which they accomplished it, proved the wisdom that dictated their selection. The scope of the Commissioners’ inquiry is indicated in the following copy of the original document, which was issued under the Royal Sign Manual: “Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen; Defender of the Faith; and Empress of India: To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Wylie

Norman, General of Our Forces, &c., &c., Chairman ; Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Edward Grey, Baronet ; and Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir David Barbour, Knight Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Greeting. Whereas representations have been made by the Governor and Legislative Bodies, and by inhabitants, of those of Our West India Colonies in which the cultivation and production of sugar forms the chief industry, and provides subsistence directly or indirectly for a large proportion of the population, that the Sugar Industry in those Colonies is in a state of extreme depression, and can no longer be carried on except at a loss, and that many sugar estates are being abandoned, and thrown out of cultivation ; and if the depression continues many more estates will shortly be abandoned, and that such abandonment is causing, and will cause, distress among the labouring population, including large numbers of East Indian immigrants, and will destroy the general prosperity of those Colonies, and render it impossible for them to provide, without external aid, for their own Government and Administration, and that this depression is mainly caused by the competition of sugar produced under a system of bounties adopted in some European Countries, which has recently been greatly extended. And whereas it is expedient that full and authentic information should be obtained, as to the facts and causes of the alleged depression of the Sugar Industry in our said Colonies, and the general condition and prospects of that industry, and of the said Colonies generally in connection therewith,—Now we do hereby constitute and appoint you, the said Sir Henry Wylie Norman, Sir Edward Grey, and Sir David Barbour, to be Our Commissioners to make full and diligent inquiry into the condition and prospects of certain of our Colonies in the West Indies in which sugar is produced, namely Our Colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Tobago, Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and the Leeward Islands, and to suggest such measures as appear to you best calculated



to restore and maintain the prosperity of those Colonies and of their inhabitants. And we do hereby charge and command Our Officers, Civil and Military, and Our faithful subjects, and all others inhabiting the said several Colonies, and their respective Dependencies, that in their several places, according to their several powers and opportunities, they be aiding you in the execution of this Our Commission. . . .—(*Signed*) J. CHAMBERLAIN. By Her Majesty's command. 22nd December, 1896."

As still further defining the powers and duties of the said Commission, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote the following letter to the Chairman of the Commission :—

"DOWNING STREET,

"January 5, 1897.

"SIR,—With reference to my letter of December 29, 1896, accompanying the Royal Commission appointing you, and Sir D. Barbour, and Sir Edward Grey, Commissioners to inquire into the present condition and future prospects of the sugar-growing Colonies in the West Indies, and to suggest such measures as appear to you best calculated to restore and maintain the prosperity of those Colonies and their inhabitants, I have thought it desirable to state more fully than is expressed in the terms of the Commission some of the points to which her Majesty's Government would wish the inquiry to be directed. (1) In view of the representations referred to in the preamble of the Commission, the first object for consideration is, whether the Sugar Industry, in the Colonies in question, is in fact in danger of extinction, and in connection with that question, it will be necessary to ascertain (2) what are the causes of the present depression of that industry, whether they are temporary or permanent; whether they include matters independent of the competition of sugar produced under the 'Bounty System,' such as extravagance in management; imperfection in the processes of manufacture; inadequate supervision consequent upon absentee ownership; and, if so, whether the

removal of these causes would enable it to be carried on profitably, notwithstanding such competition. (3) A further subject of inquiry would be whether, in the event of the production of sugar in these Colonies being discontinued, or considerably diminished, other industries could replace it, and be carried on profitably, and could supply employment for the labouring population. If such industries can be indicated, it would also be desirable to ascertain whether they could be established in time to meet any existing crisis. In this branch of the inquiry you will no doubt derive valuable assistance from Dr. Morris. (4) It is also of great importance to ascertain what effect the total or partial extinction of the Sugar Industry would be likely to have upon the condition of the labouring classes, and upon the revenue of the Colonies concerned, and whether any loss of revenue could be to any material extent met by reduction of public expenditure; and whether those Colonies would be able to provide the necessary cost of administration, including the relief of unemployed and necessitous persons, without subvention from the Mother Country. If it appears that such subventions will be necessary, her Majesty's Government would be glad to be furnished with your opinions as to their probable amounts.

“(Signed) JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

“Gen. Sir H. W. Norman, G.C.B.,” &c.

These documents are framed in an earnest, liberal, and sympathetic spirit. The second is the commentary on the first; and in the second section of this second document we have the cardinal subject of the Commissioners' inquiry; and that subject is the Sugar Industry. Indeed, had there been no Sugar Industry there would probably have been no inquiry. Recognising the pre-eminent place occupied by this industry, in the economic life of the West Indies, and also the extreme state of depression into which it has fallen, inquiry is directed in this section to finding out—(1) Whether the extreme depression of the industry

is in danger of passing into extinction. (2) What the causes of the depression are. Whether they are the result of having to compete with Bounty-fed sugars; or of extravagance in management; or of imperfection in the process of manufacture; or of absenteeism. (3) Whether the removal of the cause or causes of depression would enable the Sugar Industry to hold its own against sugars that are bounty fed.

We are not unmindful of the deep and crying need from which the West Indies are at this moment suffering—a degree of need which has been intensified by an overwhelming and disastrous cyclone, which, recently, all but blotted out three members of the group of islands. Conscious of this need, of its long existence, and of the serious consequences that may at any time arise from its continuance; conscious of the efforts that are being made to obviate those consequences by mitigating the suffering; anxious also to see these islands rescued from the peril of want, and established on the foundation of a permanent prosperity; we venture to ask whether the Sugar Industry of the British West Indies is “maintained under natural economic conditions”?

The West Indian Sugar Industry may be considered in two of its epochs; one will deal with the industry during the time of Slavery, and the other with the period since the slaves have gained their freedom. We will illustrate both these periods by presenting the history of the Sugar Trade in *one* of the Islands, the island that has been the most flourishing of them, and in which there may be found, in all the salient features of the industry, a sufficient example of the condition of things in all the other sugar-producing islands of the group. The island we deal with is Jamaica.

We will first examine the history of the Sugar Industry in Jamaica under the *régime* of Slavery. Evidence relating to the earliest history of the Sugar Industry in the West Indies is of a fragmentary character; but it is sufficient to establish the fact, that as early as the first

quarter of the sixteenth century (1526), under the Spaniards, there were at least two sugar plantations in Jamaica. Passing into the period of British rule, we find M'Culloch mentioning that, one hundred and fifty years later, the Sugar Trade had reached its maximum in Barbadoes; having 400 vessels of 150 tons burthen then in its service. From Cranfield we learn, that there were at that time in Jamaica, twenty Sugar Works, each making 150,000 lbs. to 200,000 lbs. of sugar; fifty that made 100,000 lbs.; and forty others in a state of forwardness. But the highest plane of vantage touched by the Sugar Trade in Jamaica covers the whole of the eighteenth century, and is composed of the following constituent parts, viz., a rich soil, unrequited labour, protection, high market prices, and an insatiable market. Cranfield adds: "The soil is so rich and new, that sixty Negroes can raise as much sugar (in Jamaica) as one hundred can in the Charibee Islands."

Describing a typical Sugar Estate of that epoch, Sloane says: "Occasionally, but very seldom, was the plough used; the richness of the soil made it unnecessary." The canes that were indigenous to Jamaica were of an inferior quality; but three years after the introduction of a better species into that island from Barbadoes, Ogilvie wrote: "The sugars of Jamaica were 5s. the cwt. more valuable than those of Barbadoes, so greatly had the soil improved them." And Mr. Gardner relates that, "the Rio Minbo had been searched for gold in the days of the Spaniards, and the basins, which had been constructed for washing the sand, were to be traced near Longville estates in Clarendon, for many years after the British occupation. But Mr. Beckford, who inherited this property, cared nothing for the wealth it was supposed to contain. A piece of gold found in the river did not induce him to institute proper search. He simply pointed to the canefields, and observed that, with such a mine of wealth on the surface, it would be idle to search for one beneath."

Slave labour was introduced in the latter part of the seventeenth century. During the interval between 1680

and 1700, according to one author, 300,000 black slaves had been shipped from the African coast to the Colonies; and between 1700 and 1786, 610,000. Of this latter consignment, 160,000 were re-exported; so that, since the beginning of the iniquitous traffic, whilst there had never at any time been complaints of any lack of African slave labour, we see the glutted market at one time relieving its plethora by disgorging 160,000 of these slaves.

Reference may now be made to the system of protection. In 1793 to 1803 we find the sugar growers of *East* India paying *ad valorem* duties on their sugars in the English market 37 and 38, and afterwards 40 and 55 per cent. higher per cwt. than the duties which were paid by the *West* India planters. It was only in 1836 that the East and West India sugar duties were assimilated. Before 1825 sugar coming from Mauritius was weighted with the same disability as that which shackled *East* India sugar. But when, in 1825, Mauritius, and in 1836 *East* India, sugars were admitted on the same footing as *West* Indian sugar to the English market, foreign sugars were so discriminated that they could enter that market only on the very high toll of 60s. and 63s. per cwt. Up to 1854, the date at which the complete equalisation of all sugars entering the British Market took effect, sugars of foreign manufacture were taxed to protect those coming from British Plantations, and, for a considerable part of the time, even the other British sugar colonies were taxed in order to protect West Indian sugar which, at £12 per ton, would not at the present time be deemed unremunerative, but which, for many years, behind the protection of tariff laws, produced £34, £38, £73, £87, and even as much as £94 per ton.

As to the capacity and eagerness of the market, M'Culloch declares that, during the first half of last century, the consumption of sugar increased fivefold. "It will further be observed that, under the system adopted in 1845 (that is, a reduction of tariff), a discriminating duty of 9s. 4d. per cwt. was imposed on

Foreign Muscovado sugar, admitted to consumption, over and above the duty of 14s. per cwt. imposed on British sugar. Inasmuch, however, as the latter was inadequate to supply the United Kingdom, the effect of this regulation was to add 9s. 4d. per cwt. to the duty on *all* sugars, British as well as Foreign, entered for consumption."

Such, then, were the elements that formed the ground of vantage which the West Indian sugar interest, for more than a century, occupied—a prolific soil, gratuitous labour, protection, good prices, and a capacious and even insatiable market. Now let us see how those other islands and Jamaica, the chief member of the highly favoured group, responded to this singular opportunity. After computing the relative amount of sugar contributed by the sugar-producing States of the world in 1839, a certain writer proceeds as follows: "From one of the above sources the supply, instead of being augmented with the increase of population in this country, has not been able to maintain even a stationary situation. In the following periods of five years each, the imports of sugar from the British West Indies were as under. . . . If the supply had continued to advance with the increasing population of the United Kingdom, it would now have been considerably more than 4,500,000 cwt.; whereas it is only 2,202,833 cwts. in 1840; and in 1841, still less; being 2,148,980 cwt. In the former of these years the price of sugar rose higher than it had been at any period since 1817. . . . And at one period there was only a month's consumption of British West India sugar in bond." So, in the presence of a hungry market, and under the stimulus of abnormally high prices, instead of increasing, or even holding its place, West Indian sugar declined and sank. And Gardner in his "History of Jamaica," published in 1873, amplifies this shrinkage, when he says: "The report of 1791 discloses some startling facts relative to the actual position of many proprietors. In that year there were 769 sugar plantations in Jamaica. Of these 451 were in the hands of the men, or their descendants, who possessed them

in 1772. Since that date 177 have been sold in payment of debts; 22 remained in the hands of mortgagees or receivers; and 55 had been abandoned, though 47 had been newly established during the same period. The return of the Provost-Marshal, from 1772 to 1791, showed great pecuniary embarrassment among vast numbers in the Colony. Astounding as it must appear, 80,021 judgments, amounting to £22,563,786 had, during that period, been lodged at his office. In 1807, it appeared that though many new estates had been settled, 65 others had been abandoned, and 115 had passed into Chancery since 1799."

These are the results attained with the "prolific soil," the "unrequited labour," "protection," "high prices," and a "capacious market." They are the representation of the sugar interest in Jamaica, and in the other islands, when that interest was supposed to have reached the zenith of its prosperity; they are the representation of that interest during the whole period of Slavery. The representations may be summed up in the words "decadence," and "disorganisation."

We now consider the history of the Sugar Industry during the time of freedom. And here attention should be called to the fact, that slave labour has often been declared to be injurious to the production of sugar. Free labour has therefore to be reckoned as one of the *benefits* with which the Sugar Industry starts under its new conditions. Commencing from 1839, or one year after the decree of Emancipation, and coming down to 1896, we find that in Jamaica during this interval 518 sugar estates had been abandoned. But these figures only approximate the number of sugar estates abandoned at this period. They are all that the very fragmentary and imperfectly kept records supply.

#### WEST INDIAN SUGAR BOUNTIES.

Against the loss of more than 518 sugar plantations during fifty-seven years of freedom, has to be put the

privileges and immunities enjoyed at the same time by this industry. The first of these privileges that we will mention is the importation of labour for sugar estates, and the subsidising of the same out of the general revenue. The labour difficulty, which began in the West Indies immediately after the Emancipation, is admirably presented in the following quotation: "At the commencement of freedom, the Attorneys and Overseers rather resembled madmen than reasonable beings. Deprived of the unrequited labour of the slaves, their great object seemed to be to assimilate their freedom as nearly as possible to Slavery. Meetings of planters were held, in which they agreed to unite in fixing the wages of the labourers at the lowest possible amount; whilst enormous rents were demanded for the labourers' cottages, and provision grounds; indeed, in many cases, *per capita* rental so great as to absorb the entire wages of the labourers was imposed and enforced. . . . The Negroes became impatient of such impositions, and refused to submit to them, which, as the rents were deducted from the wages, led to their refusing to work. The managers next resorted to forcible ejectment. They unroofed the dwellings, cut down their bread-fruit and other trees, tore up their provisions from the ground, and drove the people with their families into the open roads. It was this impolitic, as well as oppressive, conduct that gave the finishing stroke to the alienation of the labourers from the estates."

Our next extract is taken from the evidence given before the Royal Commissioners in Jamaica, on their inquiry with respect to the Sugar Industry (in 1897). In reply to a question put by one of the Commissioners, the witness said: "I do not know of any case where labourers had refused to leave a parish, and go to another where work might be offered them. I have a budget of evidence that there was a large number of persons not treated by their employers as they were promised. They would work for 1s. a day, and at the end of the week would, instead of



being given 5s., receive only 3s. 6d. They could not complain, for more reasons than one. . . ."

But although the planters thus deliberately and culpably destroyed the labour market, they actually received grants from the public funds for the purpose of importing East India labour. (There were, of course, some honourable exceptions to the class of planters which we have been referring to.)

Of all the sugar-producing Colonies of the West Indies, Barbadoes appears to afford the single exception. Barbadoes planters have not taken this bounty. Those islands that do not now receive it, have received it in the past times; and taking Jamaica as an example of those that were so favoured, and that continue to be recipients of this boon, we find that this island, in 1858, was made responsible for a loan of £150,000, that had been given to meet expenses incurred on behalf of immigration. In 1879 the Jamaica Government met a deficit of £179,113 on behalf of immigration. And, as late as 1896, the sum appropriated from public revenue for immigration purposes was £7,700. In their report upon the colony of St. Lucia, the Commissioners have inserted this note: "Complaints were made to us of the export duties of 7s. 6d. per ton levied on sugar, and of 1s. 6d. per bag on cocoa, which are imposed in order to pay the cost of immigrants introduced in former years. Many of the producers of sugar urge, that they are now paying for benefits that were received by former owners of estates, and the growers of cocoa declare that they never required or employed coolie immigrants. It is impossible not to recognise the force of these arguments. In addition to the revenue raised in this way, a small sum is taken from the general revenue every year to meet the cost of past immigration. The fact that it is found necessary, in order to meet the cost of past immigration, to tax the export (sugar) produced by an industry which is struggling for existence; and of another article (cocoa) on which the future welfare of the Colony largely depends, as well as to absorb a portion, however small, of

the scanty revenue of the island, affords a striking illustration of the impolicy of importing Coolies, and leaving a portion of the cost to be borne in the future by persons who derive little or no benefit from the immigration."

The other privilege enjoyed is that of having to bear a minimum instead of a maximum of taxation. The Collector-General to the Colonial Secretary of Jamaica prepared a report for submission to the Royal Commissioners. Writing to the Colonial Secretary concerning this report, the Collector-General said: "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., in which you invite my attention to paragraph (2), and request me to furnish the Governor with a report on the points indicated in that paragraph. In accordance with this request, I now beg to state, for the information of his Excellency, that it has been the policy of the framers of our tariffs for many years to favour the Sugar Industry as far as possible, and therefore the Sugar Estates contribute directly but very little in the way of customs duties. Export duties were finally abolished in 1891, and the Imports free list includes nearly every article imported for use in connection with the cultivation of cane, and the manufacture or disposal of sugar and rum. The substitution of other possible industries for sugar, provided a similar amount of money were circulated among labourers, would not therefore prejudicially affect the customs revenue. In support of the foregoing statement, I would point out that the following are exempt from import duties: Animals, bags, sacks, tierces, hogsheads, casks, shooks, staves, headings, and wood hoops, belting for machinery, bricks, carts, and waggons, coals, coke, and patent fuel, cotton meals and oil cake, medicinal preparations for cattle, fertilisers, and manures of all kinds, hay and straw, implements, utensils, and tools for agriculture, iron roofing, doors and shutters, lime, lymph for use with stock, all materials and appliances for tramways, mills of all kinds, pans for boiling sugar, pipes for the conveyance of fluids, resin, tar, pitch, and turpentine, rock salt, slates, soda-ash,

and sub-soda, steam and power engines, and machinery of all kinds, steam boilers, stills, sulphurs, tallow and grease of all kinds, electrical apparatus of all kinds, tiles, wire fencing, and wire for fencing, with apparatus for fastening the same, zinc and tin and lead in sheets . . . As regards local taxation, they again are not large contributors. Parochial taxes are not collected in respect of the works ; and houses or barracks, for the accommodation of the labourers employed therein, when they are occupied by them and their families free of rent, are not subject to taxation. Some taxes are paid in respect of the houses occupied by proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers, who also pay for any horsekind or wheels they may use on the road. The quit-rent of one penny an acre is payable on all lands which have not been redeemed, and also a property tax varying from threepence an acre on cultivated land to one farthing for land in wood and ruinate. A trifling holdings tax, in most cases about a halfpenny per acre, is also paid. Horsekind are charged 11s. each, horned stock 1s. each, and wheels, carts, and wains 6s. each, when used on a public road. Those not so used are not taxed.

(Signed) "ROBERT BATTEN,  
"Collector-General."

Such taxation can hardly be called "minimum taxation," it is virtual "exemption." But if taxes are not made to fall on the shoulders of the *strong*, who have the power of manipulating and regulating them, they can be thrust upon the *weak*, since they must be borne by somebody. The stronger sugar planter was disinclined to bear the burden, therefore he delegated the duty to the weaker peasant. As an example of this delegation, take what the Collector-General has very properly called, "a trifling holding's tax." He tells us that in the incidence of that tax, the planters "in most cases" pay *about a halfpenny per acre* for their lands under cultivation. It would no doubt have been interesting if the Collector-General had

told us what is levied from the peasant for the same tax ; but as he has not done this, I will venture to supply the omission. The planter pays, *in most cases*, for his land that is under cultivation, a tax known as "holding's tax,"<sup>1</sup> at the rate of one halfpenny per acre (and less) ; whilst the peasant, *in all cases*, is made to pay at the rate of *two shillings*, not, however, for one acre, not even for a half acre, but from a quarter acre upwards to one acre.

So then, this long catalogue of exemptions reveals the fact, that the sugar-planting interest is practically relieved from taxes of any kind, and the holding's tax illustrates the great disproportion, to the advantage of the planter, between the taxes charged him upon the few articles for which he is taxed, and those charged the peasant for these same articles. I do not say that this particular tax exists in all the other islands, but I do say, that the same principle of taxation, and the same manner of applying that principle, exist in all the British West Indies.

Now, what we have been considering is an industry that is described as the chief industry of a group of colonies, and as having occupied that proud position for nearly two and a half centuries, which has fallen at length from that high eminence into the abyss of hopeless disorganisation. In mute astonishment, we inquire into the cause of this failure, and we are presented with the following authentic summary. The habitation of the industry has been furnished with all the advantages that soil and climate could bestow ; in addition to the excellent gifts of soil and climate, there was an abundant supply of gratuitous labour, whilst the imposition of high tariffs upon all other competing lands in the products of this industry enabled it to realise large revenues from the ample and increasing

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<sup>1</sup> I understand that, as announced by the Governor at the opening of the Jamaica Legislative Council at the beginning of the present Session (March, 1899), the holding's tax, and imposts (I suppose on food-stuff only) are to be abolished. I presume these changes will apply to other islands also ; still, it will be seen that the principle of unequal taxation remains.

market of Great Britain. And yet, as showing the moribund condition of the industry, during this period of supposed exceptional prosperity under 170 years of slavery, it has to be noticed that 318 plantations in 19 years changed hands; and in that same interval 80,021 judgments were issued, representing aggregate liabilities of £22,563,786. Pursuing the history from slavery to freedom, we see the newly emancipated, from causes already stated, fleeing from the estates to their newly acquired villages. The local Legislatures are then appealed to for labourers, and these are imported, at great cost, from the East Indies; and the expenses incidental to this importation are almost exclusively borne by the general revenue, to which the sugar interest contributes practically nothing.

Thus, in addition to the service just mentioned as having been rendered to the planters by the Colonial Legislatures, those bodies proceeded further to exempt the sugar industry from the obligation of contributing, in almost any form, to the Public Revenue: and in consequence, besides bearing their own taxes, the peasantry have been burdened also with the taxes of the sugar industry. Yet, for all this, West Indian sugar could not be saved from its present ignominious fall.

Concerning one of the two conditions mentioned, the Commissioners, in their report, say: "We see no objection to the system of large estates, *when they can be maintained under natural economic conditions.*" Can an industry which is unable to pay for its own labour, and which is incompetent to pay its own taxes, but has to be supported by the revenues contributed by *other* industries, be said to "be maintained under natural economic conditions"?

Concerning the second of these two conditions, viz., the failure of the sugar industry, we are informed that the Beet Bounty is the real cause. But was the Beet Bounty established between the years 1772 and 1791, when as we saw, the owners being embarrassed, 318 of their estates passed from their hands, whilst the indebtedness of the

industry was £22,563,786? Was the Beet Bounty existing in its present form during all the period, since freedom, in which 518, and more, of the sugar estates have been abandoned? If the industry possessed vitality, should not the bounty it enjoys, in the form of remitted taxes and labour subsidies, have been sufficient to enable it to hold its ground against the Beet Bounty? Therefore, has not the Beet Bounty rather accentuated the malady already in existence than produced it?

Can an industry which, after two centuries of an unbroken record of failure, notwithstanding exceptional advantages and privileges, and supplemented by Parliamentary grants, be said still to have any claim to these exceptional advantages and treatment?

#### THE PLEAS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

It is said, that the sugar interest is humane, it is philanthropic, its crusade against the Beet Bounty is prompted only by humanitarian sentiments. In undertaking this laudable mission it proclaims on the house-tops, and in the closet, in season and out of season, to a stiff-necked world, that unless sugar bounties are once and for all times abolished, unless its estates are rescued from impending dissolution, and unless Parliamentary grants are forthcoming, to the extent of restoring to it its pristine glory, the large Negro population in the West Indies will lapse into barbarism.

Surely, after such evidences of solicitude, we should expect to find, on visiting those establishments where this interest holds despotic sway, some signs of the effort and the sacrifice made by it, as well as of the success achieved by it, on behalf of the race for whom it professes this deep concern.

Though we could give our own personal testimony, it will be more satisfactory to call in five competent and independent witnesses, from some of the islands which were visited by the Royal Commissioners. These five

gentlemen will be either persons who are natives of the West Indies, or strangers who have spent many years in the islands. They will not be taken from one or two of the islands, but from five different islands, and their testimonies will be those which they submitted to the Sugar Commission in 1897.

The first witness is the Rev. H. F. Humphreys, Baptist minister, and native of Jamaica. Replying to a question put to him by the President of the Commission, Mr. Humphreys said: "I find the people working on the sugar estates are not so well off as those working on their own farms. The sugar estate people are the poorest and the most demoralised."

The second witness is the Archdeacon of Grenada, the Ven. Geo. A. Gentle. The statements of this witness as well as another—Dr. Wickham's—besides their direct bearing on the subject, throw so many sidelights upon the social and economic conditions of the West Indian Colonies, that I cannot forbear reproducing them at length. Archdeacon Gentle said: "When I was appointed to the living of St. Patrick, Grenada, in 1873, all the large estates were under cane cultivation, but the abandonment of that cultivation commenced soon after, and in a few years became almost universal. A few estates were cut up into holdings of various sizes, which were bought mainly by labourers; and, on the rest the lands not yet planted in cocoa, but which were adapted to the cultivation of that product, were for the most part taken in lots from time to time by the labourers, and cultivated in cocoa for the estates, the cultivators being either charged a lower rental, or allowed to have lands free of rent, and to retain for themselves the garden produce from the shade, and other plants grown simultaneously with the cocoa. In some instances they were also permitted to reap one or two crops of cocoa as the trees came in bearing, or to have the option of leasing the lots; but the rule was that, as the cocoa covered in, and the cultivation of garden produce was becoming impossible, new lots of unoccupied lands

were taken up on the same conditions, and the established cocoa taken over by the proprietors of the estates. In very few instances compensation, varying in extent, was given to the labourers; but a considerable proportion of the lands of estates now in cocoa was cultivated by the labourers, the only return for whose labour was the remission, wholly or in part, of the usual rent, about 25s. per acre, and the value of the garden produce. I may remark, in passing, that I have always held strong views with regard to what I consider the injustice which underlay this system, as it must be remembered that, with the growth of the cocoa the value of the lots to the labourers for other purposes decreased year after year. Concurrently with the process of this system, the small holdings purchased by the peasantry were also being cultivated in cocoa, or other products, and it was not long before a complete change in the condition of things in the parish was effected. There was a more or less rapid migration of the labouring population from the sugar estates on which it had been located, to the small holdings, and the labourers who, with the exception of the inhabitants of a few villages, had lived massed together in the Negro quarters of the sugar plantations, were scattered all over the parish. The change which this brought about may be estimated, even after allowance is made for the cases of those owners of small holdings who did not reside on them, when it is gathered, from the census of 1891, that there were in this parish at that date 342 cocoa holdings under 20 acres, of which 284 were under 5 acres; and 113 in other cultivation, 82 of which were under 5 acres. Taking the average from the census of 4·80 persons per house, it will be seen that, on the lowest computation, the segregation of the labourers must have been very considerable. The advantage to the health of the labourers in exchanging dwellings in the crowded villages, or in the still more crowded tenements of the sugar estates, for houses standing more or less apart in their own grounds, must be at once apparent; and the difference of locality would point the



same way, for there was the additional change in the great majority of cases, from the lowlying position of the sugar factories, to the breezy and malaria-free slopes of the hill-sides. That the labourer's health was greatly improved by his migration I have no doubt at all: and my opinion here is borne out by the increase of the population, 25'48, in a decade, which took place before the important improvement in the provision for medical aid for *bonâ fide* labourers, introduced under the Government of the Hon. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson. The influence on health must be considered of such changes in habitat and conditions as have been mentioned, of the very much better housing which has been the marked result of larger means, of the greater freedom as regard leisure and rest, when needed, which has come with independence, and of the increased cleanliness and comfort of the home.

"And perhaps this is the fittest place for the remark on the influence upon the labourers of employment on Sugar estates, as compared with that on Cocoa estates. The labour on the sugar estate was harder, unremitting, and, although free in one sense, practically compulsory, since it was performed under contract, expressed or implied, and uniformly taken into account, and since the very condition of location on an estate, which carried with it a rent- and tax-free hut, garden lots, and other perquisites, was the absolute claim upon the labour, whenever needed, of all in a household able to work in the various gangs. On cocoa estates, on the other hand, the labour is physically not so hard, and not so incessant; and although, as on large estates a contract still practically exists in the case of resident labourers, they are to a great extent free agents; the young are not pressed to work in small 'gangs,' as they were called, and a significant feature in the existing state of things is the utter absence of charges in the Magistrates' Court, frequently, in sugar days, preferred for breach of contract. The pay is also slightly better; but it is an open question whether, with the cessation of perquisites formerly enjoyed on sugar plantations, the

advantages to the estate labourer is greater in the aggregate. But an undoubted advantage as regards health is gained from his being better housed, at least in this parish, and from the wider distribution of the families over the open lands of the estates. This, which is of ultimate benefit to the estate, since each household cultivates the lot about the cottage, is of immediate advantage to the labourer, if my opinion is correct that he is thereby placed in healthier surroundings.

"And, even more important than the difference as regards health is the difference as regards character, which the changed condition of the labourer has effected, and is likely to effect in the future. The moral outlook has improved considerably in the last twenty years. The labourer's house on the sugar estates was always small, and there was no possibility of instilling habits of modesty or self-respect where persons of both sexes, growing into adolescence, were herded together in the same sleeping apartment. And the destruction of habits of purity and decency which the mixing, even of relatives, tended to produce, was furthered by the promiscuous herding of young men and women in the fields, immodestly clad, and labouring day after day amid an *entourage* of coarse and vulgar speech and habits. Children at an early age were drafted off to such work as they were able to do; and, untaught, uncared for morally, and uninfluenced for good, they were from childhood subjected to a debasing example. And, in the case of their elders, the conditions of their occupation, the constant mechanical carrying out of orders, their limited and coarse surroundings, the absence of any field for the exercise of their own thought or judgment, all had a tendency to keep them ignorant, servile, and without higher aims in life.

"But a marked change followed on the change in the labourer's position and prospects. He was no longer part of a collective gang, but an individual, dependent upon himself, with a future which he could make for himself and his children; he was obliged to exercise his own though

and judgment, and to rest upon the latter ; and the sense of increased responsibility brought with it, as it has ever a tendency to bring, self-respect and self-reliance, and a higher outlook. He had the leisure, and the means, of mixing with others, of going further afield, of using the facilities which the results of his own industry and success—adding, as they did, materially to the prosperity of the island—enabled the Government to put in his way, for wider acquaintance with men and things, and for familiarising himself, as he could never before have done, with what others thought and did. His ownership of land and his improved circumstances brought him into business touch with men of more advanced knowledge and higher social position, and he realised the importance for his children of the education which he himself lacked, and the greater beauty of higher social position and more refined surroundings. Social and moral progress in a people is always slow, and there is still much to be deplored and much to be desired, but there are evidences of progress to which one may point with satisfaction and hopefulness. (i.) In the last two periods of seven years there has been an increase in the Colony of 1,700 and 2,200 children respectively on the school rolls ; or, to put it otherwise, there were in 1896 nearly 4,000 more children who took advantage of primary schools than the number in 1883. There has no doubt been an increase of schools, but there has also been the greater readiness to take advantage of education. (ii.) An increasing number have been eager and able to take advantage for their children of schools of higher education, and of the scholarships to the Grammar School regularly offered by the Government to boys of the primary schools, and have trained and are training their sons for the higher walks of life. (iii.) One meets, in the sons and daughters of persons who were estate artisans and field labourers, numbers of well-behaved, intelligent, self-respecting members of the community. And it may be added, that no stronger proof of the immense change for good which has resulted from the dependence of the

labouring class on their own resources, as proprietors of small holdings, needs to be adduced than the position occupied to-day by the coolies who came here as industrial labourers, and their children. A great number are owners of lands, some of comparatively large holdings. Dependence upon their own resources, and the new position in which they found themselves, have almost metamorphosed many of the older men, and it is difficult to realise that their sons and daughters, respectable, self-respecting, and well-mannered, are the children of those who but a short time ago were field hands.

“And the Civic efficiency of the class under consideration has naturally been improved under their altered circumstances. They have added materially to the prosperity and resources of the country, by cultivating a very considerable portion of the land; they have a personal, pecuniary, and domiciliary stake in the Colony of a permanent nature, and therefore must necessarily be supporters of law and order. They have learned that taxation is not a compulsory donation to the Queen, as I know the ordinary labourer thought in the old days, as to how utilised he had a very vague idea, but their own contributions necessary towards good government and to the progress of civilisation, in the benefits of which they are greatly interested sharers. They are learning to view the administration of public affairs from a personal standpoint, and to take a personal interest in it; they are beginning to form and to express opinions on questions of public utility and concern, and educating themselves gradually to have a voice regarding them in the future. Any one who has watched carefully the progress of events during the last quarter of a century, and taken a real interest in the people, cannot have failed to see what a great difference, in many respects, there is in the same as peasant proprietors of to-day, and as sugar plantation labourers of former times.

“There is, undoubtedly, however, an adverse side, which is patent to the observer. We have also had that which is

inseparable from the sudden change for the better in the position and prospects of a subordinate class, and, it may be added, from their better education. We have had, in some of the younger men, the growth of conceit, or what, in place of a better term, may be called 'upppishness'; of the desire to dress, and otherwise spend, above their resources; of the attempt to imitate, in ways often ludicrous, those above them in the social scale. That has, in a measure, been experienced here which M. Thiers said was so strongly the effect of education in the higher French Schools of the children of the French peasant proprietors, that these went back to their homes dissatisfied with their parents and their surroundings, restless, and unfitted for the lot in which they were naturally placed. Younger men of the peasant class have thought themselves above field labour, and, idle and thriftless, have drawn largely on the resources of their parents, to the injury of their means and their properties. The older men, unaccustomed to appreciate values, have spent money disproportionately in building houses too large and expensive, in their desire, laudable in itself, to improve their homes, and have not practised the economy necessary at the start of new fortunes and in the case of limited incomes. Above all, we have had the deadly injury inflicted upon the peasant proprietors, unaccustomed to business transactions, ignorant of the real value of money, unable to estimate accurately the spending power of their properties, of the *advancers of money on produce*, who, in order to enrich themselves, when cocoa was bringing a high price, loaned large sums, on the security of land, and on the proviso that produce should be shipped to them, to men who were unable to spend the money judiciously, and who, if any considerable drop in prices should take place, would be unable to pay their debts. This system has been ruinous to peasant proprietors, resulting either in the loss of their properties, or in a condition of present want, enforced by the necessity of extricating themselves from debt, and of endeavouring to save their holdings.

"We have had also much money and time wasted in excessive and expensive litigation, in connection with boundary disputes, and trespass suits. But this is a state of things that will correct itself in time. There are signs of greater economy, the value of which has been taught by straitened circumstances, and of the greater attention to the cultivation of the holdings; and many, in my own experience, have corrected their notions of the indignity of field labour, and have turned to tilling the land with their own hands. It is to be hoped that the crisis through which a great number of the owners of holdings have been passing for some time will be safely tided over, as, in my estimation, it would be disastrous if any considerable change should take place in a condition of things which is a healthy and beneficial one for both country and people, With their properties free from mortgage and other debts, and with more pains taken to develop the yielding power of the land, of which there are signs in such operations as draining and forking and pruning, the prospects of the owners of holdings will remain good—certainly far better, in the cases of all but very small holdings, than those of mere labourers on cocoa estates. Employment in connection with sugar is so inconsiderable that it is not necessary to take it into account. In the case of small holdings, the owners must supplement the yieldings by earning money through working for others, or by cultivating garden produce on rented land, or by both, as, indeed, they now do. But even so, the small proprietor enjoys an advantage in having his own home lot, which represents his savings, and the produce from which is so much added to his earnings. Taking into consideration the advantage to the Colony, and to the labourer, which has resulted from the peasant investing his savings in land, every help should be given by legislation to render the acquisition of new holdings easy, inexpensive, and secure."

The third witness whom we will hear is Rev. J. W. Reynolds, minister and Chairman of the Wesleyan Body, British Guiana. This gentleman has been in the island of

British Guiana since 1889. And in response to a question put to him by the Chairman of the Commission, he made the following statement : "There are strong and robust young men who are, rightly or wrongly, not wishful of being employed on estates. . . ."

The fourth witness is Dr. W. S. Periera, District Medical Officer of St. Vincent. In a memorandum to the acting Administrator, he says : "In reply to your question . . . I have the honour to make the following statements. Whether the labourer work on a sugar estate, or any other estate, he enjoys equally good health. I am of opinion that a small landlord proprietor enjoys distinct advantage over the ordinary labourer in everything save health. His morals are better, he has more self-respect, he contrives to live better, and to dress better ; he is more ambitious, and takes a certain amount of interest in 'politics.' The morals of the labourer on the estate are very bad. The labourer is utterly devoid of self-respect, he has no prospects, and does not want to have any. He works, eats, and sleeps, and he is satisfied, and wants nothing."

We now come to the last witness, whose evidence concerns Antigua. It is Dr. A. H. Wykham, a medical practitioner, a native of Antigua, and a member of the Legislative Council, whose professional studies were completed in England and in the United States. The following is the greater part of the very outspoken memorandum submitted to the Royal Commissioners by Dr. Wykham :—

"There has never been any real dearth of labour. On the contrary, Antigua has long since been supplementing the French and Danish islands. Labourers are so anxious to get to these islands to work that the Antigua Government has always had trouble in enforcing the Act preventing large numbers of passengers embarking in small craft, as labourers leave this island in large numbers, even at the risk of their lives, so eager are they to leave behind them the severe hardships they have to encounter here. The labourers say they get better value for their labour in

these foreign islands, as they are engaged steadily, paid regularly, given leisure for attending to their own affairs, and allowed rations of food-stuffs grown on the estates. In the case of Antigua, immigration has always been advanced when the labourer dared to ask to be considered—generally, as to a little better wage in crop-time. Immigration funds, made up largely from grants of public money, were at hand; and here the Government steps in between the employer and the people, helping the former at a cost greatly exceeding in every respect what trifling increase of indulgence might have been acceded our labourers; the great return from most of the various batches of imported labourers having been desertion, physical infirmity, together with assassination of those in authority over them. When batch after batch passed away, the employer without blush fell back on his Negro labourer, who, in his good nature, has been always ready to respond. But even now he is not placed on the same plane with the imported article, although no other race has proved so expert at digging cane-holes, a structure two feet square by one foot deep—300 for 9d.—or so ready to work at the copper-hole until Sunday morning without extra pay. The lazy labourer is a character that need not infest any estate; and it is a fact that there is such. But the laziest labourer will work, and do good work too, if he is encouraged by his superior, or his pay, or both. These men leave here constantly for neighbouring foreign islands, and make their living—often to return much better than they left. They claim to get better pay and privileges. In many cases, the more spirited labourer becomes lazy because there is not enough in his pay to induce him to work. At any rate an attempt to select the best labourers would always result in excluding lazy ones, as even the employers themselves must testify. The labourers of this island, for what they are required to do, and for the training they get, cannot be said to be unskilled. Digging cane-holes, trenching, cross-holing, weeding, cane-cutting, making fires, the care of stock, and handling of animals



generally, and all departments of the work of an estate, are most dexterously performed by them. Up to now, none have been imported here that could show them their work, and it is also a fact, that the West Indian labourer has the hardest kind of work to perform of any wage-earner in the world. He performs this heavy work very often in a state of half-hunger nowadays, for he cannot earn sufficient to feed himself. The man is only a bit of machinery as long as he lives on an estate. He has no chance of developing himself in any way. He sees no skilled farming around him to draw out his latent powers. His work is not an education. He has to cross over to the United States to have his eyes opened, and his intellect brought into play; and when he goes he finds himself not only a labourer, but a man. The relations between the employer and the labourer have never been the best. The former has always felt that he owed nothing to the latter, save some kind of payment for work actually performed. What he eats, where he lives, and his general welfare give him no concern. In sickness the labourer gets very much less attention than the stock in their pens. It is common knowledge that the children of labourers, and labourers themselves, living in villages near by estates and even on estates, have been unable to provide milk in sickness for love or money, and have had to jaunt to St. John's. No one comes between the employer and his labourer. When more work is required of him, the master applies to the police magistrate. When he is required to forfeit a great deal of his earnings, the police magistrate is appealed to to get it done. When he dares ask for a penny increase of wages, he runs the risk of being handed over to the police magistrate to be well punished. The labourer is a man without rights that any one is bound to respect. He actually has no friends, and is entirely at the mercy of men who are neither friendly nor fairly disposed. The Contract Act is a shameful fraud as it works to-day. There was a time when the able-bodied male labourer was paid his shilling per diem, the female her eightpence, and the child sixpence, as contract labourers.

Then they were allowed to work from Monday morning to Saturday night, or Sunday morning. But feeling in need of a day to see after their own affairs, or even to remain at home to rest, or even to go out for pleasure, a practice grew up among many labourers to remain away on Mondays. This practice was not favoured by employers, and helped to give the labourers the name of idle. At the present time the wages of an able-bodied male labourer is tenpence a day, and for five months in the year, out of crop, he cannot earn more than two shillings per week; often with a wife unfit to work, and small children entirely dependent on him. In crop, women can earn fivepence to sixpence per day, and children when employed are paid threepence to fourpence per day. Labourers are not actually allowed to earn what they can, although it may be made to appear that they are. At no time in the year is a man sure of receiving what he has earned. Different pretexts may be advanced for detaining nearly all, or even all, his wages; he may owe the estate shop, the estate butcher; he may have stolen a pound or two of sugar, or broken a cane. The fine for breaking a cane sometimes amounts up to pounds, either in the magistrate's court or the estate's court. (For the estates, in the presence of an expensive judiciary, are safeguarded to the extent of trying their own cases when they wish, from which they derive much revenue.) Everything tends to keep him in a low and helpless condition, so that he cannot assert himself. It is not strange that our working people only learn to be independent and self-reliant after they have gone to the United States of America, where they at once take upon themselves all the responsibilities of the citizen, and feel themselves free in the sense of self-reliance.

"The labourer in this island is so manipulated that it is impossible for him to make any headway, or to secure the smallest amount of comfort. The man does not know how many hours a day he works if he is asked. When he works by job, the system is such as to get twelve hours of hard work out of him before he is given a chance to earn

an ordinary day's pay. During crop, the hands at work are very frequently, perhaps every night in the week, required to work far into night—generally without the merest suggestion of any compensation, and on Saturdays the work is frequently not finished until Sunday morning. The same firemen and boilers that come on at two or three o'clock on Saturday morning, work until 2 or 3 or 4 a.m. on Sunday. Their scanty fare is eaten while they work, and for these continuous twenty-four hours they are paid at a rate comparable to the wages already quoted, when no subterfuge is raised. Such a thing as a night-fireman and a day-fireman would be too outrageous a suggestion to be tolerated. All this is carried on under the nose of a 'good Government,' with an expensive Judiciary.

"Not so long ago an estate worked all Saturday night until six o'clock the next morning. At this time the engine-driver blew the whistle to let off steam, but he found that he could not shut it off when he wished, so the whistle continued to blow all Sunday, until 2 p.m., when the engineer arrived from St. John's and rectified the machinery.

"A labourer, even a contract labourer, in crop or out of crop, may be told at any time that he is not required to-morrow. But out of crop especially, for a period of about five months, he is often denied the opportunity of earning more than one shilling per week. During all this time he has no particular claim upon the estate that the estate is bound to respect. He makes out, and gets along, as best he may until crop begins again. Even now, however, working at his utmost, he is not allowed to earn what he can, but is dodged about in such a way that, although he may handle a fair sum for a certain amount of work undertaken by him, after paying out to others their due, his share is not calculated to exceed eightpence to one shilling per day, and that is only so when much of it is not kept back—checked—for bad work or some other subterfuge. Visitors to any estate here cannot but be struck with the barren condition of the labourers' quarters—the

'Nigger Yard.' It is not often that a garden of, say vegetables, may be seen around a labourer's hut. There is no premium upon any such thing, nor is there any upon the labourer who keeps the neatest cottage; in fact, there will be found an entire absence of anything like emulation encouraged among labourers, because it is preferred that they should all be on the lowest plane. A little more observation reveals that labourers have not the slightest encouragement to raise even a head of stock. Prizes, for instance, for the best pig raised among labourers, would necessarily be an outrage against old-established order. In the whole of the northern plantations of the island, among an aggregate of about 2,000 labourers, owning a bit of stock, cattle, or horse, or animal of any kind is practically prohibited, because the poor man cannot obtain pasturage. He must not better himself; he is not to possess money. In a large village, lying in this portion of the island, it is the greatest difficulty to obtain milk for the sick poor. For, although surrounded on all sides by estates with plenty of milch cows, none will sell him a bottle of milk, and of course he will not get it for love.

"Even with resident contract labourers on the estates, the employer is entirely independent of them. He has not any responsibility whatever. Children born on the estate are not particularly cared for, and labourers have no future to look to but the misery of abject poverty. The mere thought of seeking compensation for a labourer sustaining an injury while in the performance of his duty, would be looked upon as an unnatural demand. Judge and jury would very soon find where to land such an applicant. And yet, if a labourer fell into a copper of boiling sugar to-morrow, as he has been falling during the whole life of the industry, he will be sent to St. John's, be the distance never so far, to the hospital, in a mule cart, covered with a bit of the estate's canvas, or uncovered as the case may be. There never was, in the palmiest days of the industry, a conveyance for carrying sick and injured, and there is not even to this day.

"After emancipation, when the labourer has served his year to the estate, as further compensation to the millions of manumission money paid to the proprietors by the Home Government, most of them found it expedient to look out for homes for themselves, continuing only to work on estates. This is how the villages sprang up. They were therefore hated by employers at the very start. Labourers nearer St. John's lived chiefly on the outskirts of the town. In these early days the Negroes had their mountain-patches—'Nigger Grounds'—that they cultivated in their little spare time. They brought their produce to market on Sunday mornings, so as to be able to go to work on Monday. They raised stock—pigs, sheep, goats, horses of a kind, donkeys, and poultry. These villages developed into little business centres, and decent living was insured by the most thrifty.<sup>1</sup> But envy stalked out. The Sunday morning market was ordered to be closed. Shops were started on estates, and the first of a long series of death-blows was given to the villages. The visitors will notice that every village in the island is falling over the ears of its people; decay is on every side. But the big man rides by grimly satisfied, for this is how he would have it be. One may listen for a long time, and never hear any reference made to the matter. The housing of the working classes forms not a plank in the administrative platform of the island; so that in St. John's, those parts of the town where labourers live exhibit all the sad signs of decay to be found in the villages.

"The visitors to this island will not fail to observe the almost complete absence of Charitable Institutions. The people have never been over-indulged, as the large number of indigent, old, or diseased persons who roam our streets may illustrate. The Institutions classed under the head of 'Holberton Institutions' are Government institutions to meet the most necessitous cases of illness — injuries,

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<sup>1</sup> "Even as early as now there were to be found men with sufficient energy to emigrate to other islands, and to earn better wages, and these returned able to build good homes."

leprosy, lunacy, and absolute decrepitude. And these are the outcome of the energy of a pious English clergyman, who worked here years ago, and who had to live down the hate his charity had secured him. The Institution originated in a soup kitchen, for the Government had not committed the grave error of making the slightest provision for the suffering free Negroes. There has never been any attempt, in the palmiest days of the staple sugar, to establish any ennobling Institution of any kind, however simple. Wealthy employers have never done so. The Government gives such matters no thought. The only charity established here for ennobling the people was by an English philanthropist. This Institution did real substantial work for years, the bequest having been large, and having remained unused, and accumulating interest for many years. But in a way that has never been explained, the time came when the Government shared the control, and a subsidy was given. Then envy stalked out, and the Statute Book was disgraced by a clause prohibiting a native from ever becoming its superintendent. I am not forgetting denominational religious work, nor am I passing over the Female Orphan Asylum. Every one knows that more than half the prosperity of the island was due to the great educational and civilising work carried on by the denominations—Moravian and Methodist. The Church of England in Antigua has never done pioneer work in this direction, and to-day the difference between the time when coloured persons could not go to the Episcopal Church at all and now is not very great; for it is said that the time has not come when a coloured British citizen might hold office as clergyman in St. John's, although many are qualified. The Church of England in Antigua never had an Institution for improving the people. It has a great attachment for slave Institutions.

“In this island an employer does not seriously calculate on his workpeople as a necessary and important factor in contributing to his year's returns. Long habit of absolutism has developed him into a person utterly ignorant as

to his duties towards labourers. . . . But, in spite of their hostile attitude toward their workpeople, employers of labour have always been propped up on all sides by the Government, pampered, indulged, and petted in such a way as would enable any English farmer, to his eighth generation, to die rich. Now a land tax is removed ; then the wheel tax, that every struggling job-cart owner is compelled to pay. This week the Government repairs roads ; next week the coffers of the wealthy landowners must be augmented, and the road-mending is placed in his hands, and the work is never done well. The large number of the unemployed go on suffering, but their sufferings distress no one who is in authority. In the midst of such conditions the big man still feels himself unsafe, and calls upon the Government for protection. He is given a yeomanry corps to ride down the defenceless. The expense of this too passes through his hands, and actual revenue from this source is passed to the credit of estates account.

"It has come to this now, that everything imported for an estate must be *free* of duty ; everything imported for the consumption of the people is *to be taxed*, and taxed to the utmost. But the immigration fund is the gigantic plum of all the planters' Government perquisites, all the money spent in this way having been deliberately thrown into the sea. It cannot be argued that immigration from beyond the West Indies was ever necessary. . . . The drought of 1894-95 was one of the severest known to the oldest inhabitant. It caused a famine, there being great scarcity of food and water, and people died. To obtain water in St. John's people were limited to a few corner pipes, that were allowed to be opened for a very short time once or twice a day. Nearly every cistern in the town was dry, and people roamed all over the place, getting for love or money, the last drop of water from every nook and cranny. In the country places the poor could not afford to sleep. They were kept on the roads at nights carrying small quantities of water from long distances ; big boys and girls went about in rags, nearly nude, but not such a thing as

relief of any kind was started. The 'Four Hundred' *did not suffer*. The sufferers were not the same British citizens as those who at the time enjoyed themselves around a genial Governor—and Government. In the midst of this drought, a certain pond on an estate to windward, but adjacent to villages, and generally used by the villagers, was ordered to be enclosed and watched, as the water was being reserved for the stock. Persons were to be stoned away. The need was so pressing that many had to be stoned, with serious results. Cases arising out of the trouble are in the court to-day, still unsettled. This pond had always been cleaned out at the expense of the Government. This 'Paternal Government,' in its efforts to carry water to every estate to water its stock, had sunk thousands and thousands of pounds in a venture called 'wallings,' the most chimerical; but there is never a penny to spare to improve the streets through a village, or public roads leading up to poor men's holdings. There was a time when the working classes of this island scarcely knew their importance as British citizens. But all the opposing forces have helped to sharpen them and make them thoughtful. The man of this class is beginning to claim his rights, and trying to assert himself. If he has a vote, he makes an effort to get it recorded, and to use it for the good of some one he favours. He raises his voice every now and then in the political affairs of the island, and he struggles to be allowed now to return to a seat in the Council the man of his choice; and the fight is a strong one. Every appeal to the authorities for the amelioration of the people is met with disfavour, which is always prefaced with four words, 'The Secretary of State.' The Secretary of State has certainly placed on his shoulders all the unworthy proceedings of the various cliques and Jacks in office. The chief of the Colonial Office is regularly trotted out as the 'Bogey Man.' Whenever the people clamour for freedom and fair play, they are told, 'Shut up. If you do not, we will stop your mouths with Crown Colony.'



"The time has come, every one must admit, when the black and coloured populations of these West India Islands must be regarded, without modification, as British citizens, with the same rights as British citizens born in Great Britain. When the people are met in such a spirit, these islands will prosper again if even sugar does not take the lead. . . .

"One division, lying south of the island, contains upwards of 3,000 inhabitants, who are all labourers and small holders. Most of this part of the island is specially adapted to the maturing of the minor industries. But the prejudice is so strong against these people, that it is considered ridiculous to get imparted to them any instruction that would enable them to do anything else than depend on sugar-cane. The present curator of the botanical station has incurred great odium in his endeavour to impart some knowledge of agriculture that would give good returns to the people. This gentleman is soon to visit England on leave, and some persons of influence here are doing everything in their power to prevent his return.

"It can readily be seen that countervailing duty would scarcely improve to a great extent the happiness and contentment of the people, even if it bolstered up a tottering estates proprietor."

As affording excellent glimpses into the social, economic, and political condition of the West Indies, the evidence of these witnesses is of the greatest value; but, for the moment, what is more germane to our purpose is the treatment meted out to the peasantry by the Sugar Interest, which, as we have seen, *professes* to be stricken with horror at the possibility of the peasantry lapsing into barbarism.

What do these witnesses say on this subject? Although hailing from five different islands, although giving evidence separately, each in his own island, and uninfluenced by any previous interchange of view relative to the line and the character of the evidence they each would give, with a striking unanimity these five witnesses have deponed not only to the wide-spread dislike of sugar estates by the

peasantry, not only that the Sugar Interest has failed to show any concern in, or any sympathy with, the peasantry working on the estates ; but also that the Sugar Interest is directly responsible for the degradation and demoralisation of the peasantry connected with these estates, and therefore for the general paralysis with which the West Indies are smitten. What then is this solicitude about preventing the Negro from "lapsing into barbarism"? It is but the mask of some ulterior design.

The history of the West Indian Sugar Interest is controlled by a certain principle, which the following facts will serve to illustrate. Of the two classes into which the inhabitants of the British West Indies are divided, after a period of nearly two hundred years of servitude (1655-1833), the governed class was manumitted, and the governing class was compensated with twenty millions sterling. The chattel was now a freeman, and a British subject. And through the impartiality and inflexibility of British law, as regards personal liberty, life, and property, the freedom of the freedman has always remained the complement of the British subject ; hence the loyalty that binds him to the Sovereign's Throne. Co-operating with education, missionary enterprise, that had wrought such havoc against slavery, also obtained amongst the emancipated a success both striking and complete. The highway to moral and mental culture being opened, and equality before the law secured, the emancipated became possessed of some of the essentials for his march to the goal of destiny. But these essentials unhappily were counterbalanced by such hindering influences as dearth of cultivated lands, ignorance of the proper methods of agriculture, &c. And nothing gives stronger emphasis to this statement than the almost wearisome iteration with which Colony after Colony dinned into the ears of the Royal Commissioners this complaint. Of the eight islands, besides the Leeward group, visited by the Commission during its recent inquiry, without a single exception, the land question, in some form or other, was brought up for its consideration.

Here is a sample from St. Vincent, furnished by one of the witnesses that appeared before the Commissioners: "In St. Vincent we have the strange anomaly of four or five men holding the bulk of the cultivable land of the Colony. The aggregation of such large areas in the hands of four or five individuals is not a public benefit. . . . As landowners cannot be forced to cultivate, sell, or lease their properties against their will, and we have no right to expect them to cultivate at a continual loss to themselves, although that loss is largely their own fault, the only remedy for the situation is for the Government to intervene. . . . There is a strong disposition on the part of the middle and labouring classes to engage in industry on small holdings of land, either purchased or rented, provided the tenure is certain, and not liable to cease at the whim of an oppressive landlord. If the properties now out of cultivation were in the hands of a few hundred intelligent, industrious, thrifty labouring men they would be made to pay. What is wanted is good cultivable land for the people. . . . If means could be adopted to establish such a proprietary body, and encouragement were given to cultivate such products as would find a ready and profitable sale, in neighbouring and American markets, the people would become prosperous, trade would revive, and the public revenue would be increased."

The impression produced upon the minds of the Commissioners by the incessant repetition of this subject, as well as by their own observation, is conveyed in the following paragraph of their report: "The settlement of the labourer on the land has not, as a rule, been viewed with favour in the past by the persons interested in sugar estates. What suited them best was a large supply of labourers entirely dependent on being able to find work on the estates, and consequently subject to their control, and willing to work at low rates of wages. But it seems to us that no reform affords so good a prospect for the permanent welfare in the future of the West Indies as the settlement of the labouring population on the land as small peasant proprietors." The force with

which this recommendation is urged will be felt in the additional allusion made by the Commissioners to the subject : " The holders of the lands appear to be unwilling to sell them in small lots, or at a reasonable price, and are unable to cultivate them. Under the circumstances, we have no hesitation in recommending that suitable portions of these lands be acquired by the State, and made available for settlement in small plots. If suitable lands cannot be obtained by private agreement with the owners, powers should be taken by the Government to expropriate them on payment of reasonable compensation. A monopoly of the most accessible and fertile lands by a few persons who are unable any longer to make a beneficial use of them cannot, in the general interests of the island, be tolerated, and is a source of public danger."

In order to make the peasantry mere dependents on the estates, the Sugar Interest, as we have seen, pursued the policy of withholding its lands from that portion of the community ; hence the outcries that have swelled into this volume of protests. But what has made this system of subordination so successful—to the destruction of the West Indies be it remembered—has been the entire lack of knowledge, on the part of the peasantry, of the proper methods of husbandry. And the Commission has fully recognised this when it says : " At the present time a system of training in agricultural occupation is much needed. We think that some, at least, of the botanic stations should have agricultural schools attached to them, where the best means of cultivating tropical plants would be taught ; and if elementary training in agriculture were made a part of the course of education in the public school generally, the Botanic Department would be in a position to render valuable assistance."

The lands hitherto available have been of an inferior quality, and deficient in quantity ; being rocky and difficult of access, because frequently situated in mountainous districts, far away from the cultivators' homesteads. These disadvantages, together with ignorance of scientific agricul-

ture and excessive taxation, form the powerful hawser that has bound the West Indian peasantry to the beach, where now it is all but submerged by the rising tide of commercial depression.

But this land-hunger, which ignorance of the true principles of agriculture, and the crushing weight of direct and indirect taxation, have aggravated for six and sixty years, is, as we have before noticed, the illustration of a principle. And the principle which is illustrated is that of *Class Government*. It is to this form of government that the following remarks point, which are often made with respect to the Ethiopian: "They can live on very little." "They don't require as much as white people," &c. "Therefore, although the white people are somewhere perhaps about 150,000, and the peasantry over a million, since the planters think that by giving the peasantry a sufficiency of land they will become independent of the sugar estate, and they, in consequence, will be unable to command cheap labour, the Legislatures will not intervene to let the peasantry obtain land."

Again, as to the Labour Question, it is quite true that if the planter, at the outset, had taken up a conciliatory, or even a just, attitude toward the labourer; or had he afterwards sought to amend his former harsh treatment by adopting a kindlier tone, the labour difficulty would have been removed, and the apparent necessity, with its cost, for importing foreign labour, would have been obviated. Yet, seeing it is the wish of the planter to introduce foreign labour, we must help him; and for this purpose we must increase the taxes of the peasantry. And as for increasing their taxes, it is quite an unimportant matter, for you know "they can live on very little," and "don't require as much for subsistence as the white man." And as regards the taxes of the sugar estates, you know there is but a fraction of the peasantry working on the estates, and especially since the importation of East India labour; so that the direct benefit received by the peasantry from the sugar estates is small, and those of them who get a shilling's

worth of benefit, perhaps pay two shillings in taxes, &c., for it. Yet it is the white people we must first consider ; those 150,000, not the 1,250,000. And so, as we have been duly informed of the planters' disinclination to pay taxes, both on imports and exports, as well as on property, there is left us no other alternative but to give the thumbscrew of the peasantry-taxes another twist. They will be very heavily taxed, we know ; already they have to pay their own taxes and the labour tax of the estates, so that if they are taxed further, with the other taxes of the estates, the burden will be immense ; indeed, every mouthful of food of which they partake will be taxed. But, after all, we don't know that it matters much, "they can live on very little," "they don't require as much as white people," so they must bear these additional burdens. Such is the utterance of Class Government.

And after sixty-six years of this form of government in the West Indies, good and innocent people wonder that the West Indian peasantry are so poor. Is this the soil that produces millionaires ? But what has been the result of this form of government in the West Indies ? After being fed for nearly 200 years with every kind of delicacy that an earnest solicitude could suggest, this parasitic and paralytic industry, which has been reeling during those years, has now actually fallen to the ground, dragging with it the people who have been its support during the whole of that time.

Once again outside aid has had to be called in, in the forms of a Royal Commission and advances from the Imperial Exchequer. The work of the Commission has been earnest, painstaking, and impartial, and its recommendations, which bear these same characteristics, have been taken up in the same spirit of earnestness by the head of the Colonial Office, which, in the treatment of the West Indies, has dared to step aside from its traditions. The appointing of a Commission is quite an ordinary occurrence, the recommendation of drastic and far-reaching measures for Crown Colonies by a Commission is not

exceptional either; but the ready adoption, without reserve, of such recommendations, and the immediate entrance upon the task of giving them effect, is both novel and extraordinary. And this is what the present Colonial Minister has done, and is doing, as the subjoined extract from a speech delivered by Lord Selborne last November (1898) will show:—

“An Agricultural Commission,” says his lordship, “under the skilled direction of Dr. Morris, was already at work in the West Indies. The grant for roads in Dominica was at the present moment being expended, and the first opportunity was now being given to develop the great natural resources of that island. In St. Vincent an attempt was being made—an experiment which he regarded as very important—to settle the Negroes on Crown lands, and assist them to become peasant proprietors. In the Leeward Islands taxes specially bearing on sugar had been taken off, and similar taxes would be removed on January 1st next year, at St. Lucia. Negotiations for the establishment of central factories were in continual progress in various selected spots in the West Indies. Tenders had actually been invited from no fewer than four different steamboat services to serve the West Indies. . . . The accumulated deficits had been, or were being, paid off. . . .”

The opening up of Dominica by means of good roads, the establishing of a proprietary class on suitable lands in St. Vincent, the wiping out of deficits that the Colonies were unable to face, and the encouragement held out to producers of having their products placed upon the best markets, through efficient steam communication, are auguries of the dawn of a new era in the fiscal and commercial existence of the British West Indies. If, however, I may venture to state what my feelings are upon one other subject of this catalogue of prospective and retrospective achievements, I would say that they are feelings of disappointment with respect to the sugar question. Our attitude to the question is, that sugar should be treated like any other industry. It should be given a free hand to

make suitable returns for the outlay of capital expended on its behalf, and to bear its proportionate share of the burden of revenue, for the protection and facilities it enjoys from the State. If it cannot do these two things, then it should simply be allowed to die. But we have seen that during its entire career the West Indian Sugar Industry has never been able to fulfil either of these conditions ; and not only so, but for a number of years another section of the community has had to take up its revenue obligations, and to pay, sometimes wholly and sometimes in part, the expenses connected with its labour supply. This being the case, we had hoped that attention would have been first directed to relieving the excess of taxes borne by the revenue-producing portion of the community. We were led to cherish this hope, on the theory that the section of a community upon whom dependence is mainly placed for revenue should not in any way be unduly restricted by burdens, but that every encouragement should be given it by the State, as its material increase is the increase of public revenue. Instead of this, we are told that the semblance of taxes for which the Sugar Interest has been responsible has been removed, or is to be removed, whilst the overtaxed peasantry are left struggling under the pressure of their onerous burdens. It seems to be unfortunate, as the excessive weight of taxes borne by the peasantry must to a great extent antagonise the efforts being put forth for founding a prosperous peasant proprietary class.

We are well aware that a few islands are still entirely dependent on the prostrate sugar industry, and that, therefore, the hastening of its extinction in such places would intensify the sufferings of the populations ; but our contention is, that in those parts the industry should be maintained simply as a scaffolding is maintained during the erection of a new building. Although it is our belief that if the grants-in-aid now being given by Parliament were directed towards lightening taxation, instead of again experimenting on sugar, the end desired would be more hopeful of attainment.



Had the policy now forced for adoption by the absolute collapse of sugar been followed sixty-six years ago ; that is to say, if the freedmen had been settled on small plots of land at the time of Emancipation, and had schools been erected in a few centres for instructing them in agriculture, not only would the British taxpayers have been saved the grants-in-aid with which from time to time they have assisted the West Indian Colonies—including the present preliminary grant of £120,000—but it is our conviction that instead of three millions, as at present, the Imports of British goods into those Colonies would at least have been double that amount. So that this melancholy record of 178 years of failure is a failure that the Beet Sugar Bounty has only brought into bolder relief. This record is surely the fullest conceivable condemnation of the system of Class Government.

## CHAPTER XIV

### A DIVIDED EMPIRE

BUT Class Government is itself the resultant of Class Prejudice. For is it to be supposed that those who speak of the Ethiopian as "a useless article"; who write about him as being "inherently inferior" to the white man; and who regard the colour of his skin as an "eternal barrier" separating two races, and making their "assimilation" utterly impossible, will, in governing the two races, apply to both the same treatment?

The prospect does not improve, even if we go to India. A liberal-minded author and statesman writes as follows: "A great Oriental scholar, the latest and one of the ablest of writers upon India, has described our position in Hindostan as it is viewed by some of his native friends concerned in the administration of semi-independent States. With the exception of a little cheap satire upon the commercial nature of our relations with the princes . . . the observations of the Sirdars were based upon the feeling with which they had witnessed, at Tashkend, the wearing of the ordinary uniform of Russian officers by the Mohammedan gentry of Central Asia. The friendly foreigner, who has much praise for our rule, reports a comparison, drawn by one of his native friends, between the Russians and the English, in which the Indian native says, that by the side of the first he finds his comrade of the

same colour, and the same religion, holding equal rank ; whereas in British India, he complains, the attitude of the conqueror towards the representatives of his race is one of haughty disregard."

Again, " M. Darmesteter, the ablest, on the whole, of all foreign writers upon India, while he speaks of our rule as based on kindness and on justice, giving the peninsula that boon of peace which it had never previously known, suppressing Thuggism and suttee, diminishing infanticide and famine, and covering India with a network of railways and irrigation canals ; says that the natives know all this but do not love the English, although they believe in the truth of the Englishman, and respect as well as fear him."

M. Darmesteter tells us, that " it would be impossible to find in a foreign Government more conscience, more straightforwardness, and more sincere desire to do good " ; and that " there never was in the Roman provinces, even under the Antonines, so much power, so much temptation, and so little abuse of power." But the high qualities of British rule are, unfortunately he thinks, " accompanied by that lack of true sympathy without which inferiority cannot pardon superior strength. The English are unable to enter into the heart of these vast multitudes, so gentle, so weak, so ready to give themselves if only one could speak with them. . . . As India becomes more European the gulf between the races gets deeper, for the apparent drawing together only brings out more strongly the natural antipathy—profound and incurable."

Allusion has been made in this work to the great international change that has taken place in the world during the present century. Nations which, at the beginning, were in the swaddling clothes of infancy, are now attired in the glory of vigorous manhood, and nations that were but agglomerate States have become indivisible and compact Empires. But the change has not been less striking in the commercial aspects of these nations than in their political. When in their cradles, and in their teens, so to speak, Great Britain, as the chief trustee, ruled

the great domain of commerce ; but having now arrived at their majority, in commercial life as well as in political, these younglings are assuming their full responsibility of active national life. Such changes are bound to cause disappointments and heartburnings ; and the triumph of British Statesmanship will be gained only in the equitable and pacific adjustment of British policy to the changed circumstances.

But side by side with these international and external changes, there has been another set of changes going on within the bosom of the British Empire, which is no less real, no less profound, and no less important. Possessing fecundative and absorptive powers in an extraordinary degree, besides producing some sixty million souls, Great Britain, by adoption, has increased that number by more than six times. And no mother could have been more tender, more indulgent, and more kind to her own offspring than she has been to these wards whom she thus took under her control. She threw around them the shield of her laws, substituted amongst them order for anarchy, and civilisation for barbarism, and she has protected them with the powerful arm of her defence. Of the 385,866,837 souls comprising the population of the British Empire, if we put down the white population at sixty millions, an estimate which we believe to be liberal, we shall have a balance of over 325 millions representing her Majesty's *coloured subjects*. Some of the races represented by these figures are called "children," all of them are designated by the ruling race as "inferior races." The propriety or accuracy of these designations is not what we are concerned about just now. We wish to observe that 325 millions of people, whether "children" or "inferiors," must be exercising some influence upon the Empire, of which numerically they constitute so large a part.

And what has been happening among these subject races during the century which has witnessed such ominous external changes? Let us take the section called "children." At the beginning of the present century they were

only *things*, classed with the brute creation, and to be bought and sold like oxen, horses, or swine. Towards the middle of the century they were transferred from the list of the brute to that of human beings. At the close of the century we meet with the following telegraphic communication from Kingston, Jamaica. It is dated August 23, 1898 :—

“Coincident with the West India Sugar Conference, to assemble at Barbadoes on the 3rd prox., Jamaica is preparing to take a plebiscite on the question of requesting the permission of the British Parliament to allow the Colony to endeavour to arrange annexation to the United States.”

The following comment is taken from a letter on the West Indian crisis that appeared in the *Standard*: “The Negroes, who would be the governing factor in any plebiscite, not only do not realise the situation, but would not care if they did. In point of fact, the industrial ruin of the Islands would be welcomed by them as opening the door to free squatting on lands from which they are now debarred, and inaugurating a return to something very like a state of Nature, which is really the highest ideal of the Negro mind. This may be thought an uncharitable view, but it is none the less accurate.”

The author appears to be nervous about being thought uncharitable for his stricture on the Negro, whose free access to the land he would associate with “a return to something very like a state of Nature.” We hasten to calm his nervousness with the assurance that no one whose opinion he values will accuse him of uncharitableness, for the simple reason that remarks of this kind, made against the Negro, are quite fashionable, and he is therefore in the fashion, and people are not usually nervous, neither do they make excuses for being *in* the fashion, but for being *out* of it. Had he spoken good instead of ill, he would certainly have been out of fashion, and then his anxiety would have been timely, since kindly utterance about the Negro is so very unfashionable.

Passing to the idea of the comment. What does it mean? It means this, that the political situation in the British West Indies has been so entirely transformed during the last sixty-six years, that whereas, at the beginning of the century, the white inhabitants of those Colonies could have initiated, and with the sanction of the Imperial Government, could have effected constitutionally any political change they desired, now they dare not, unless supported by the Negro inhabitants, that is by the "children." Put in other words, in 1801, the whites were the political masters of the British West Indies; in 1899 the blacks occupy that position. And how did this change come about? It did not come about by human designs. Not even the most ardent champion of the anti-slavery movement foresaw that, before half a century had expired, the political ascendancy would have passed out of the hands of the whites into the hands of the blacks. The British nation have been wise enough, and self-contained enough, not to attempt to wreck this "train of nature," but to allow it to go on its own way. The Americans have adopted an opposite course, hence the commotion and "Babel" of the South.

There is another fact to be taken into account concerning these "children" in the British West Indies. During the century they have been brought into contact with the Missionary and the Schoolmaster, through whom they have discovered and embraced two worlds, and have been rising to the appreciation and the dignity of true manhood. The British people could rightly have taken no other course. Ignorance and degradation, which are its alternative, would have been a perpetual menace to the strength of the Empire. To these political and intellectual possessions we cannot add that other powerful constituent called wealth, for the form of government, as we have seen, has tended rather to impoverishment than enrichment. But from an Imperial point of view, actual or prospective, supreme political power in the hands of a people of advancing intelligence may be a positive danger, since

those people may be deeply infected with disloyal sentiments towards the central power of the State. This however, as far as Jamaica is concerned, affords no ground for alarm; and, in respect of loyalty, Jamaica represents the whole British West Indies, and the British West Indies, all British subjects of the African race within the Empire.

Turning from the "children" to the *adult* section of the "inferior races" so called, we may take India as their representative, and what do we find? There is a population of the governed races amounting to over 220 millions, whilst the governing class is only over one hundred thousand. These people are increasing in wealth. In learning they are equalling the "superior" race. They display literary, judicial, and administrative ability of a very high order. Yet, at the same time, through a well-organised, and a thoroughly representative body, we hear these people earnestly contending "that natives should no longer be practically excluded from competition for the Indian Civil Service." And the high and impartial authority through whom we hear this just complaint adds: "In regard to this matter there can be no doubt that promises made to the late Professor Fawcett have not been kept. It would, however, be better to leave this matter for the present as it is than to tantalise the feelings of educated natives by the adoption of some transparent fraud. It is no fulfilment of our promise to invite gentlemen to come from Hindostan (which creed forbids many of the best of them to do) in order to compete with Englishmen in subjects specially chosen in order to exclude them."

We are further told that, through this rule of differentiation, Indians who are British subjects, and therefore belong to a territory containing 220 million souls, are often driven into Native States, which contain only sixty millions, to find employment. Also that the Indians "who look upon the Queen's proclamations as their charters, point out that, while there is no legal reason against their filling some proportion of the highest executive posts, there are, as a

fact, virtually no natives high up in the Covenanted Civil Service.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in the West Indies, we have seen the interest of a million British subjects being made subservient to the interest, or supposed interest, of a few thousands of British subjects. In India also we have the interest of 220 millions subordinated to the interest of one hundred thousand. We have called the first Class Government, therefore the second must also be called Class Government. And as there is no reason to suppose that the remaining hundred millions of British coloured subjects are an exception to this rule, we must further conclude, that the governed races are ruled in the interest of the ruling race. And so, in the British Empire, Class Government may be considered as the expression of the feeling of antipathy that is cherished by the white race against the coloured races. We do not contend that, from their contact with the ruling race, the coloured races ought to have participated in the government of the States of which they form integral parts, or that they should share equally in official emoluments. All that we contend for is the translation into practice of that which in theory is professed, viz., that “all men are made equal.” The rejection, in practice, of this doctrine is largely responsible for some of those defects in the Empire of which we have already spoken, and of which we shall again have to speak.

We give an example of the existing situation. B. was possessed of a large family of children, and of sufficient means wherewith to supply each of them with a good education ; but, being of a peculiar disposition, he had formed the opinion that only certain branches of learning were of any value, these being reading, writing, and arithmetic, and especially the last two subjects. It happened that of his twelve children only two showed any special aptitude for the two last of their father's favourite subjects. A third child had undoubtedly a gift for music ; in another the poetic faculty was strong ; whilst

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<sup>1</sup> “Problems of Great Britain,” p. 433.



a fifth would certainly have secured an honourable place among the foremost painters of the age, if he had had the necessary training ; two of the other children, whilst giving no special indication of exceptional talent in any particular department of mental culture, would have made a fair representation in general education ; but the remaining five were very dull. And what did the father do ? Being very penurious, as well as eccentric, he sent the children that were quick at figures and with the pen to the best schools, where he kept them till they had finished their education ; but believing that the other ten children would be of no use, either to themselves or any one else, and that it would be a loss of time and money to send them to school, he made them go and earn money in order to assist in educating their more favoured brothers. This man disabled his other children, because they did not possess those gifts that appeared to him essential and paramount, and, despising them, he made the interest of the majority subservient to the interest of the minority.

And so the governed races are despised by the governing race, but not because they do not possess those gifts that are regarded as essential and paramount, but because the gifts so possessed shine in the aggregate, with less intensity than their own : and despising them, they—the governing race—make the interest of the many subordinate to the interest of the few.

But did the policy of this householder secure to him that breadth of intellectual gain of which his house was capable ? And is the policy being pursued securing or destined to secure the sum-total of gain of which the British Empire is capable ? Let the British West Indies answer. Had the equality of all the races composing the Empire been believed in, then not only would the interest of all have been placed at the same starting-point, but no method, either of action or inaction, would be employed to retard any member, however obscure, dark-skinned or light-skinned, from reaching any point which may be the reward of his diligence, his ability, and his behaviour.

Had the equality of the races been believed in, after making due allowance for the work of extension that has been in progress, our older possessions would have been in a much more advanced state of forwardness.

For example, take Africa. Excluding Egypt and the Soudan, the African section of the Empire, roughly speaking, comprises 2,579,338 square miles, and consists of a population (in round numbers) of 44 millions. Of this territory the part lying within the tropical zones is about 1,110,724 square miles, and has a population of 40,820,502. Now, from the changes necessarily occurring in the great commercial markets of the world, owing to increased competition, and the fact that markets which were only consumers are now also producers, as well as the commercial and fiscal conditions of Africa, it is obvious that, as far as British commerce is concerned, Africa must become ere long one of the chief and most important of British markets. But what has been done to develop these African possessions? Still confining our remarks to those of them that lie within the tropics, it appears that the foundation of the African division of the Empire was laid as early as 1787, when the Peninsula of Sierra Leone was ceded to Great Britain. Since that time, by a steady growth, it has reached its present dimensions. And as for the development of the country, notwithstanding the exceptional capacity of railways for opening up inaccessible and barbarous regions, and notwithstanding the plethora of produce with which the hinterlands of our African possessions have been for ages glutted, there is not a complete line of railway in any of our tropical possessions in that continent. The French have such a line, and so have even the Portuguese. And the Belgians, who definitely entered upon African Colonial enterprise in 1879, have completed a line of railway extending some 300 miles.

It may be answered, that our attention has been turned in other directions. Such an answer would be a true one, but it would not be the *whole truth*. The difficulty that

has stood in the way of African development is resolvable into these two constantly recurring questions: Can the white man colonise Africa? Will the Negro work? If the first question had been answered, and answered with certainty and in the affirmative, the development of inter-tropical Africa to-day would have been well forward. Side by side with the second question stands the evidence of libraries of modern literature on Africa, asserting, in the most positive manner, that the Negro will *not work*.

With regard to the first question, it must not be forgotten how thoroughly the subject has been tested. The idea of colonising Africa appears to have early seized the imagination of mankind. But to only one stock has the privilege been given. The Hamites have been the only true colonisers of this great and mysterious continent. The Semitic races have had some measure of success, whereas the Japhetic, represented by the Greeks and Romans of antiquity, and the Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch of modern times have had—except in the South and North—no conspicuous success. Doubtless the defective sanitation, or no sanitation at all, coupled with the ignorance with which the medical art has been beclouded, might in the past have helped to make the climate of tropical Africa unendurable and untameable. The rapid advance of medical and hygienic science do not, however, seem to have availed much in the effort to curb the virulence of tropical climates.

We believe that nearly all the malaria of Africa is due to the action of the sun, and that *pigment* is the true antidote for African malaria. The pigment which produces in some people those attacks of jaundice which, becoming chronic, affect their vision and their temper, and even their reason, allows the black man to reside in tropical Africa, where the white man can only be a bird of passage. When, therefore, Dr. Freeman says to the American Negro, that he will only be assimilated by the American nation when a way has been found whereby the Ethiopian may change his skin, the Ethiopian may in turn inform the

Caucasian, who for thousands of years has been waiting to colonise Africa, that the Caucasian may only expect to accomplish this feat after a way has been found whereby *he* may change *his* skin.

The question whether the Negro will work is not a difficult question. What is the collective amount of Exports from Tropical Africa? In the second edition of his "Partition of Africa," published in 1893, Mr. J. S. Keltie gives the Exports of Central Africa as 20 millions sterling. At first sight this sum would appear small, but when the nature of the products—which are for the most part uncultivated—is taken into account, and also the fact that the population has been so terribly thinned by the slave-scurge, that smallness gains in size. Now, what labour produced those 20 millions of Exports? Is it labour from the East, such as Chinese, Malay, or Indian; or is it European labour? No, every bit of it, directly or indirectly, is the labour of the native African.

Crossing the continent to the West Coast, when we take the territory of the Royal Niger Company, and that of the Niger Coast Protectorate, the Gold Coast, the Sierra Leone Protectorate, the Gambia, Lagos and Yoruba; and complete the circuit by coming back and taking East Africa—like Central Africa—all these territories will be found pouring a vast stream of Exports, valued at many millions, into the markets of Europe. It will also be discovered that this enormous volume is all the *work* of the native African. And yet the question is asked whether the African will work. And Mr. Keltie, who tells us of the 20 millions of Central African exports, joins in the interrogation. The question is not whether the African is a worker, but whether he is a *trained* worker? To this question the reply must be in the negative; and we add, that if at the outset of our West African projects, over a century ago, we had established, together with missionary enterprise, a good agricultural farm in West Africa, with the view of instructing native youths in systematic and profitable husbandry; if we had planted Botanical Stations

in the different Colonies, for furnishing seeds, for scattering information, and for encouraging agriculture—and this the absolute collapse of the West Indian Sugar Industry is now forcing us to do in that quarter—if means had been taken whereby capital could have been made accessible to small agriculturists, and the country had been opened up by railways—if such had been our African policy from the outset, and the same principle had been followed in our other tropical possessions, then, instead of being poverty-stricken and undeveloped, as most of them are at the present time, those possessions, with their prosperous native populations, would have been now ready to take up the challenge which is about to be thrown down by the exigencies of politics and commerce.

Believing in the inferiority of the native races instead of in their equality, except as yielding to political necessity, we have been content to rest solely on the efforts of philanthropy, with the result that, whilst the heart and head of the native are developed, his hand, so to speak, remains untrained and inefficient.

As the outcome of this same feeling of antipathy, there appears to be another condition produced, which is even more serious than the partial development of the material resources of the Empire. That condition is strikingly set forth in the quotation already given from M. Darmesteter by Sir Charles Dilke. The last clause is as follows: "As India becomes more European the gulf between the races gets deeper, for the apparent drawing together only brings out more strongly the natural antipathy—profound and incurable."

Conversing recently with a Hindoo gentleman, the declaration was made by him, and made with the strongest emphasis—"We hate the English."<sup>1</sup> And he assured us that this feeling was general among the educated classes. Anxious to know what means could be used in order to

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<sup>1</sup> "I am afraid, do what we like, our government will never be popular in India."—An extract from the speech of the Secretary for India, delivered in the House of Commons, June 15, 1899.

expel the English, we made inquiries which the Hindoo would not directly answer. But he told us that there were some ten of his countrymen in the Russian army, as commissioned officers. He also knew of five holding similar positions in the French army; and about three in the Brazilian army. Inquiring whether there were any natives holding similar rank in the British army, he replied that there were none. Of course, although this gentleman has travelled much—he has a knowledge of several leading European capitals—and although his conversation indicated earnestness, reflection, and grasp, yet he may be only an enthusiast, or a disappointed man, or one who unintentionally exaggerates. Whether any one or all these qualifications rightly describe his case, it cannot be denied that the feeling he describes as normal on the part of the educated Indians towards their rulers is endorsed and corroborated by M. Darmesteter.

There is talk of a Russian invasion of India, but the invader is already in the country, and his name is "Prejudice." "As India becomes more European, the gulf between the races gets deeper, for the apparent drawing together only brings out more strongly the natural antipathy—profound and incurable." What is true of India, there is grave reason to fear is equally true of other parts of the British Empire.

We have seen the rapid transformation that has been going on, politically and commercially, in both the external and internal relations of the Empire. It is manifest that the Empire can only continue the speed of its progress, and fulfil its hopes, by skilfully adjusting itself to the altered conditions that confront it from within and from without. The internal adjustment can be effected only by the feeling and action, on the part of the ruling race toward the ruled, that will beget in the latter the consciousness of a common interest and a common destiny. We have traced that feeling into the utterance of the rulers about the ruled; we have traced it further into the action of the governing towards the governed. And

the sea into which these bifurcations of utterance and deed flow is represented by this quotation, which, with a slight alteration, we will make read thus: As the subject races "become more European the gulf between" them and the ruling race "grows deeper"; for "the apparent drawing together," of the latter and the former, "only brings out more strongly the natural antipathy—profound and incurable."

The white races have succeeded in persuading themselves into the belief that even as the Almighty decreed that man should "have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth," so He has ordained that they—the white races—should have dominion over the rest of mankind, in respect of mind, body, and estate. Two centuries ago, when the British race first came into contact with the subject races, the latter did not only receive this doctrine, but, believing themselves to be the natural inferiors of the former, they rejoiced in it as involving a wise and merciful arrangement. And in the mental and moral inequality that then divided the rulers from the ruled, there existed more genuine sympathy and harmony between the two great parties than exists now that education and religion are supposed to have levelled up those inequalities. Thus the sympathy and harmony between the governing and governed races are in inverse ratio to the intellectual and moral approximation of the two classes. And strange though this state, of increasing nearness of mind with increasing distance of sympathy, may appear, yet it is not difficult of explanation. It is the direct result, first of the feeling, and then of the internal change, to which we have alluded. That change has produced among the governed races a body of men who are increasing in number, and who, believing in the equality of the human race, thus address their rulers: "We were orphans, and although possessing an inheritance, we were helpless. Finding us in this state of helplessness, you took us in, and you placed

us among your own children. Indeed, you adopted us, for you made us partake of all the privileges of your home. We shared the same nursery as your children, we romped with them, sat with them at the same table, attended the same school, yea, we had everything in common with them. You have been very kind, and, up to this point, you have fulfilled your self-imposed obligations in the most exemplary manner. We have known neither father nor mother, you have combined both in your person. We thank you. You have deserved, and you will ever have, as you now have, our unchangeable gratitude. What we now ask of you is, that you will fulfil the promise relative to our future that you have so often repeated, viz., that on arriving at man's estate we shall share all the opportunities and advantages of manhood in common with your own children. You have incorporated our inheritance with your own, for this we are not sorry, since your knowledge and experience in management have taught us that these possessions are better in your hands than they would be in ours; we therefore are glad that you have taken them in your charge. All we wish for now is to be allowed to bear our full share of the responsibilities of your house. We wish to be held eligible for any post which our ability may entitle us to aspire after. We refuse to be regarded as guests, or to act the part of mere spectators, or camp-followers, in the concerns of the house. We wish to be declared and treated as members of the family. We claim that to raise the question of our adoption, and so make that the ground for restricting us, after your explicit and implicit declarations in the past, after possessing yourself of our patrimony, and after fitting us by your training for any position, would be a violation of good-faith of which we think you incapable. Absolute equality—an equality that spurns every other consideration, that rests solidly and squarely on the bulwarks of ability and character, is our request and our demand. In our childhood and our youth your kindness made us perfectly at home in your house; now, in our manhood, let your sense of fairplay do the same."



Such are the sentiments which the changes that have been transpiring in the Empire have precipitated. And these sentiments are the wedge which, as circumstances act more vigorously upon them, and as they in consequence are more sharply felt by the governing and governed races, produce that growing cleavage of which M. Darmesteter speaks.

But are these aspirations fair or unfair? Are they right or are they wrong? If they are right, is it proper that they should only excite the contempt and the derision of the ruling race? With the momentous changes happening without, and that may yet happen, can sixty millions of people, however powerful, and however skilful, afford to set at nought the just recognition of 325 millions? In this matter our statesmen unfortunately—with but few honourable exceptions—have chosen the popular course, and so we find those who should be foremost in breaking down every barrier that would impede the progress of any subject of the Empire, and who should hold unsullied the banner of *equal opportunity and equal recognition for all*, in their accentuation of race differences defending the stockades erected by prejudice to cut off the progress of certain members of the Empire.

Certain Colonies are in distress; a responsible Statesman in asking for relief on their behalf does so, not on the ground of the inhabitants being British subjects, but that *some "are the descendants of manumitted slaves, and some are members of our race."*

The following extract is taken from a recent speech made by one of our political leaders: "Every extension of our Empire means an increase of our Army, possibly also our Navy. Our Navy might be increased indefinitely, subject to the supply of seamen, but our Army is not capable under our present system of indefinite extension. Therefore we are endeavouring, as far as we can, to utilise our subject races. That was an excellent and successful policy up to a certain point, but it was a policy again which was incapable of indefinite expansion, because

it would be a bad day for this country if we trusted for the maintenance of our Empire, and our power, to foreign mercenaries rather than to our own people." This objection to the unlimited employment of the subject races for the defence of the Empire, will be seen to rest, not on natural incompetency, but on the fact that they are *foreigners*, and not "*our own people*." The words of this quotation breathe a spirit of distance, suspicion, and distrust; they reiterate the position of the governed in the estimation of the governing race, and that, according to this fresh declaration, is the position of "foreign mercenaries." Foreign mercenaries between whom and "our own people" a broad and indelible line of demarcation is drawn. Our leaders appear to be oblivious of the fact that the natives whom the British nation took under its care nearly three centuries ago, who, at different intervals since then, have come under their care, and some of whom, after a rigorous servitude they freed, have been advancing in the scale of civilisation, that they are thinking for themselves, and that language and conduct which might have suited them in the past are no longer applicable, and that manhood, in all its robustness of quality, resides with them as well as with their rulers. As long as these races are spoken of and treated as "a useless article"; as those who are "inherently inferior"; and as hordes of "foreign mercenaries"; as long as they are made to feel that they are in the Empire as strangers, that they exist there on a sort of sufferance, they cannot be expected to feel enthusiastic about the welfare of the Empire.

Who is responsible for the indifference of the Coloured Races? And cannot these alien people be made to feel towards the Empire as "our own people" do? The Statesmanship that takes a really comprehensive view of Imperial affairs will ask such questions, and will set itself to find available and hopeful solutions. The coloured races are longing to feel, and to act, towards the Empire as "our own people," and "our own race," but they are not allowed to do so; they are spurned, reviled, and held in "absolute

loathing"—which ought to occasion anxiety. Hence the divided Empire is not the work of the coloured races, but of the ruling race.

It may be pointed out, that there are natives occupying distinguished positions in different departments of the Public Service. But have these posts been given to the holders as *British subjects* or as *natives*? Would those in such positions be eligible for promotion under precisely the same conditions as members of the ruling race? If their promotion should entail their transference to places that are *not Native States*, would the promotion be made? In other words, would ability and character be the determining and final cause or hindrance to promotion, or would it be *race*, and the colour of the skin?

From what has been said with respect to the feeling of the ruling race, as expressed both in language and in act, we make the following deductions: (1) That whilst the constructive and absorptive powers of the British race are evident and unmistakable, there is yet no evidence to show that it (the British race) possesses, in an equal, or, indeed, in any marked degree, consolidative and assimilative powers also. Thus the coloured races whom it has voluntarily taken under its care, and whom it has made subjects, are in the Empire just what undigested food is in the stomach. It is in the body, yet, in the assimilated sense, it is not *of it*. It need not be denied that this race does possess these faculties of consolidation and assimilation; all we wish to observe is that, so far, its presence in any striking degree has not been manifested.

(2) That whilst the general preparation and equipment, in the form of training, capital, &c., must necessarily come from the ruling race, the actual development of the tropical regions of the Empire must primarily rest with the inhabitants of the soil.

(3) The prosperity of the greatest number should be the object sought by our Home and Colonial Governments; as, besides securing contentment to the inhabitants when attained, it increases their needs, with a corresponding

demand for British manufactures ; whereas the present tendency which primarily subjects the interest of the governed to the interest of the governing race (if it does not, as in the case of the West Indies, reduce the Colonies to the necessity of seeking charity from the Imperial Exchequer) provokes discontent, and narrows the range of demand and supply.

(4) Above all, make the people by practice, as well as by profession, British subjects, integral portions of the Empire. If the three last of these four deductions be regarded as the conditions, upon which the development of our Colonial Markets in the tropics must proceed, then, added to those conditions, which have been given under "Australia and Canada," we get the net requirements for the complete development of our Colonial Markets.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE EVILS OF "COLOUR PREJUDICE"

LIKE localities, the human mind is subject to pestilential visitations. As instances we may recall "witchcraft," which was founded on the delusion that some people were in league with the "Evil One," through whose agency they were able to injure others. We may think also of "Slavery" and the "Slave Trade," whose central delusion was, that the system of Negro slavery was vital to the continuance of certain industries, such as the West Indian Sugar, and the Cotton Plantations of the Southern States of the American Union. A third visitation which we may mention is "Colour Prejudice." In the American Republic, colour prejudice appears to rest on the three following hypotheses: (1) That the Negro is inferior to the white man; (2) That if political equality were conceded to the Negro, he would gain political ascendancy in certain States of the Union, and by this the political institutions of the country would be endangered; (3) That if social equality be granted to the Negro miscegenation will follow, with national degeneracy as the final result.

The visitation of colour prejudice in the British Empire, appears to rest on the assumption that the coloured races are inherently inferior to the white. At the Cape of Good Hope, and in India, where the whites are proportionately a mere handful, the belief prevails that if the full merits of

the governed races were considered, power would pass from the governing to the governed.

What were the peculiar features of these several visitations? The pestilence of Witchcraft we find to have fastened itself upon Europe for four centuries. Its victims were drawn from all classes, from the rulers of great States, eminent Statesmen, great Warriors, learned Judges, Divines, Philosophers, Scientists, Scholars, &c. Its operations, through these intermediaries, were torture, hanging, strangling, burning; indeed, with persistent force, the whole machinery of cruelty toiled to feed its avarice, till in Europe alone, besides a countless host of men of every rank and station, 300,000 women at least were immolated on its bloody altars.

As to the pestilence of "Slavery," it may be said that Hell, during its long existence, with all its speculations, never desired for its purpose a more profitable business. Even at this late hour of the nineteenth century, it continues to draw large revenues from the transactions which it carried through during that period of midnight. The grosser manifestations of the pestilence of slavery, were spiritual darkness, mental agony, moral prostitution, physical suffering, murder, theft, avarice, falsehood, and a general degeneracy of the communities that sheltered and shielded it.

Of the pestilence of "Colour Prejudice," that sum of human vanity, that most transparent, yet most revered and popular of all human follies, is the peculiar fever to which the Anglo-Saxon Race is specially susceptible. It is from this fever that the American people are suffering, and in consequence of it the temperature of the nation is in the North nowhere normal, while in the South it has reached the stage of hyper-pyrexia. In that great country, the manifestations of this visitation are somewhat peculiar, as the following examples will show. A white lady will ride in a car along with her black servant, but she will refuse to ride in the same car with a black *lady* of equal standing with herself. A white Christian gentleman who

sits on the same floor in the National Legislature with a black Congressman, declines to sit on the same floor with him at *Church*. The whites give the blacks the title to vote, but when the blacks go to vote the whites mob and lynch them.

Coming to the British Empire, we may say, that in no part of this vast dominion does the fever of "colour prejudice" show the *same* virulence as in the Southern States. In certain Dependencies and Colonies, as, for example, India and South Africa, it is bad enough, but in the United Kingdom its existence is comparatively mild, never rising more than one or two degrees above the normal. Speaking generally, it may be said, that the most serious manifestation of "colour prejudice" appears in the political aspect of the Empire; and that in this aspect its most glaring and dangerous form is seen in the cleavage it has caused, and maintained, between the governing and governed races.

On the morrow after a hurricane, when the sea-shore is strewn with wrecks, and corpses float about the harbour; when in street after street the spectacle of unroofed houses, shattered masonry, and blocked-up passages, meet our gaze; when we hear of one buried in the *débris* of his dismantled dwelling, of another wounded, and of a third killed by a falling tower, we are obliged to conclude that a terrible visitation has overtaken the community. So when we linger around the remains of those 300,000 women whom Witchcraft slew; when we remember their innocence, their purity, and their refinement; when we think of the vile imputations that were heaped upon them, of the mental anguish those imputations must have awakened; of the scorn, the derision, and the indignities of their tormentors; of the cruel tortures that shattered their fragile frames; of the bitter load of sorrow bequeathed to friends, to brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, husbands and children; we are bound to conclude, that in the outbreak of Witchcraft which overspread continents, the moral world was desolated by a terrible visitation.

Or we may think of Slavery. Of the intertribal wars for the capture of slaves ; of the torrents of blood then shed ; of the kidnapping of slaves ; of fathers torn from their families, mothers from their children, children from their parents and from their homes ; all bound, all stowed like cargo in the dismal holds of ill-ventilated and loathsome ships, all voyaging to a country of which they knew nothing, of which they had heard nothing, and of which their present sufferings fill them with the darkest apprehensions ; of the horrors of the "middle passage," the fury of the elements, the languor of the sick, the groans of the dying, the corpses of the dead, and all their thoughts of the homes whence they have been torn, but only with the consciousness that they will behold them no more. We may gather up all these miseries, and add to them the nameless horror of the Slave Markets, and the plantations, of the New World—the vices that have debased and degraded master as well as slave, and then we shall be compelled to acknowledge that, like Witchcraft, Slavery has desolated the moral world with a terrible visitation.

And if we think of the spite, the jealousies, the hatreds, which "Colour Prejudice" engenders ; of the impositions, persecutions, and oppressions that attend it ; of the murders, the barbarous mutilations of the dead, the prostitution of law, the subversion of order by the strong, and the suffering, pain, grief, innocence, and helplessness, of the oppressed ; when we think of an Empire cleft into hostile camps, which the cement of a common interest should have rendered compact and indissoluble, we are compelled to conclude that in this "Colour Prejudice," the Anglo-Saxon Race is suffering from as serious a visitation as either Witchcraft or Slavery.

The sufferers by the visitations of Witchcraft and Slavery were, many of them, men of the highest probity and talent, and they were taken from every walk of life. And the same may be said of the victims of Slavery, which for a century and a half afflicted mankind.

It appears, therefore, that for four hundred years there



have been good men, and wise men, who believed that some people held communication with wicked spirits for the purpose of injuring others. And for over three hundred years mankind believed that Slavery was right, and later they believed that the Cotton and Sugar Industries were inseparably bound up with its continuance. But are these the opinions and beliefs that are held now with regard to these two systems? Do our Rulers, our Judges, our Statesmen, our Ministers of Religion, our men of Science, now believe in the claims of Witchcraft? And does Society at large, including those very classes whose material interests were vitally joined to the two industries named, now believe Slavery to be indispensable to the existence and continuance of any Industry? Instead of that, it now knows that Slavery was wasteful, and a hinderance to the full growth of the Industries with which it was connected. It is also known that most of the phenomena upon which Witchcraft depended for its accusations had no existence at all, and that the belief in their existence was due to the ignorance of well-known natural laws. And so both Slavery and Witchcraft have now, by common consent, been relegated to the Gehenna of exploded delusions.

According to these facts, therefore, we see men eminent for virtue and learning, holding in one age certain opinions, and following the courses which they prescribe, with a persistency and a stubbornness that leave no room for doubt as to the depth of their convictions, and the conscientiousness of their actions relative to those opinions. In another age we find men equally eminent in those qualities and qualifications wherein their predecessors excelled, from clearer knowledge of facts, holding opinions just as strongly, but the very opposite in character to those which were held, and fought for, in the preceding age. And we find mankind, with a unanimous and unequivocal voice, condemning both these earlier opinions, and the actions to which they gave rise, as being positively baneful to the best interests of the human race.

Now, comparing "Colour Prejudice" with Witchcraft and Slavery, we find it coinciding with them in two particulars, in its popularity, and in its banefulness. The examples already given sufficiently illustrate both these particulars. But if Witchcraft and Slavery are known to have been founded on delusions, might not "Colour Prejudice" be also founded on delusions? The operations of this species of prejudice are according to the colour of the skin; and one of its modes of operation is the association of all great achievements with the white skin, and the white skin with everything great. Conversely, it associates everything that is contemptible with skins that are not white, and skins that are not white with everything contemptible. Hence the conclusion, in certain circles and communities is, that to fraternise with persons of dark hue is improper or undignified, and some who affect to ignore this well recognised social law, in fraternising with the despised, do so with that patronising condescension that causes *men* of the coloured races to despise in turn their duplicity. The white people who cherish these exalted notions about their skin would, we presume, under the pressure of an anatomical, or physiological, discussion upon the relative merits of white and coloured skins, admit that on their side at least, there is nothing in favour of their exorbitant conclusion. But, they would perhaps go on to say, it is not so much our skin, *per se*, but what it points to; for undoubtedly it is associated with greatness, progress, and civilisation. To this argument, as far as it concerns us at present, we would say "true." And, after making the necessary deductions for the evils that have been the concomitants of the white man's progress and civilisation—evils that are neither small nor few—a civilisation, be it remembered, that professes to be ruled by the restraining and mollifying power of the life and teachings of Christ, we would admit that on the whole the white man has done his work well, and that the world has been the gainer by it.

Now concerning the white man's greatness, of which his

skin is seemingly believed to be the emblem, we have the following questions to ask : Has this greatness always existed? And if not, whence did it come? The subject is a wide one, and our space for dealing with it is necessarily small, but in the very brief allusion we must make, we will begin by observing, that the present greatness of Europe began in the fifteenth century, by the discoveries of the continent of America, and the passage to the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope. And when we trace the civilisation thus prodigiously enriched by the junction of these two affluent streams, we find it commencing in the region of barbarism, as a little rivulet, from the fountain of Roman civilisation. Roman civilisation we trace to Greece; and Greek civilisation to Egypt. Now, these facts supply the answers to our questions. They tell us that the present greatness of Europe does not extend beyond three centuries, and the civilisation that moulded the circumstances named into that greatness, does not reach back to two thousand years. Further, the civilisation of Europe is of Egyptian origin. And from the conformation of mummies, the inscriptions of monuments, as well as the statement of Herodotus, it is known that the dominant races among the Egyptians, who, in their laws, their commerce, their manufacture, their arts, and their political supremacy, rose as high in their day as modern nations who started from the elevation reared by them, and increased by their two successors, were *Negroes*, and *Asiatics*. So then, unless it can be proved that when these Egyptians were the greatest civilised power in the world they were *white*, and when the white races of to-day were barbarians they were black or brown, the theory that the white skin only is associated with progress and greatness, cannot be sustained, neither can the obverse, that the dark skin is associated only with littleness, be maintained.

Again, since the civilisation elaborated to the present magnitude through fortunate circumstances, by the white races, was received from the coloured races who were its founders, there is no proof to show that the white races

are intellectually superior to the coloured races ; or that the coloured races are "inherently inferior" to the white races. And further, since the white races have not always been great, and the coloured races have not always been insignificant, and since the great wheel of destiny, by which races rise and fall, continues its revolutions, there is nothing to indicate either that the white races will always continue at their present altitude, or that the coloured races will always remain at their present declivity.

So, then, these reflections have shown (1) That the white man is as much a debtor to the coloured man as the coloured man is to the white man. (2) That the tenure of national or racial greatness is quite uncertain. (3) They falsify the assumption that the colour of the skin has any special significance. (4) They have shown the haughty and arrogant bearing of the white man towards the coloured to be as foolish as it is wicked. (5) And they have proved that Colour Prejudice is a delusion. With the fate of Witchcraft and Slavery before us, we do not despair of seeing this delusion, which is as pernicious and as popular as those in their day, will also be overthrown, and banished to oblivion, as a sentiment at variance with intelligence and good breeding.

## CHAPTER XVI

### OUR FUTURE POLICY

MANY persons think that we have come to the most critical part of our Imperial History, a point whence diverging ways start, which lead towards most momentous issues.

#### INDEFINITE EXPANSION AND ITS DANGERS.

In the endeavour to ascertain the courses into which our Imperial policy is drifting, or is likely to drift, we have come upon *Indefinite Expansion* as one of the chief of those courses. We will devote a few remarks to this extremely important subject.

As a nation we claim the right to expand, on the ground (1) that we are the greatest Colonisers in the world ; (2) that our markets are open to all ; (3) and that whilst our trade-markets are the markets of the world, other nations, on possessing markets, restrict or exclude our goods from them by means of high tariffs. These contentions are all true ; but it is also true that other nations, who are our rivals, do not consider the liberality of our policy towards their trade, and the restrictions of their policies upon our trade, as sufficient reason why *they* should not entertain the idea of expansion. We wonder that these nations, in some of which commercial life is only in the bud, should

be competing with us in the construction of Navies. But in these Navies lies the proof that those nations also are resolved upon expansion. That innate desire for territory, of which we by no means enjoy a monopoly, is expressing itself in these nations. There are jealousies among them, but for the moment these are almost forgotten through preoccupation. These nations are all deeply interested in one nation, on whose movements and policies they seem to feel that, to an extraordinary degree, the gratification of their colonising instincts must depend. They know that in whatever corner of the globe they may go, for the purpose of executing their projects of expansion there they will encounter the ubiquitous power of the British nation. They know that in such encounters danger is not always absent nor remote. These facts have set them to work to find the pillars giving support to the unparalleled might of this nation ; they have discovered that might, and greatness, converge in one central column of the great structure, called the "British Navy." They then conclude that if those who are at present at the A, B, C, D of colonial work are to make any headway against a Power which has already reached the letter Z, they also must be strong at the point where she is strongest ; and so is explained the feverish haste with which they are completing warships, and laying down new ones. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that a British policy of Indefinite Expansion will exert a hostile influence on the nations that are thus creating great navies.

Nor is it likely that a country owning one fourth of the globe, that has the largest navy in the world, and that is still increasing her possessions, could exert any effective moral influence either in restraining the zeal of these nations concerning the building of warships, or the increase of territory. The situation here represented contains the elements of expansion and combination, which, with the adoption on our part also of expansion, would intensify the dangers of collision and explosion.

Again, the policy of Expansion would make an alliance

necessary ; and the thing which now makes the help of an alliance indispensable—whereas formerly such a bond was dispensable—is the new set of conditions created, in the field of colonial enterprise, by the advent of rivals who also are leavened with ideas of Expansion ; and also the fact that the rival colonising nations are themselves allied. Rivalry is a prominent and constant feature in the new situation that has been created ; and the clashing of interests to which it gives rise produces friction, which might at any time light up a general conflagration. A strong alliance offers the best guarantee for coping with such dangers. By the fear which it inspires, it holds in check the impatience which that friction causes.

For these reasons, at least, the equipment of an alliance becomes an invaluable piece of armour for the battlefield of Indefinite Expansion. But we have already discussed the subject of an alliance between Great Britain and certain Powers, and we arrived at the conclusion, that in the cases of the two nations most desired for such a compact, their paramount interest, which is the soul of such unions, would be compromised instead of safeguarded. Hence, under present circumstances, the possibility of securing both or either of them as an ally is not visible. But suppose that, in the likelier of the two nations, those circumstances which now range of paramount interest against an alliance should so change as to place it on the side of an alliance, and that in consequence an alliance were concluded between Great Britain and the United States. Suppose these two nations on the one side, and Russia and France on the other were ranged against each other in conflict ; suppose the two Anglo-Saxon nations emerged victorious, and suppose such a struggle should place the fate of the world in their hands ; their wills having become the mainspring of the world's action. They are two nations equally great, equally rich, equally ambitious ; and one of them is peculiarly sensitive. These two nations together will have gained mastery over the world. Would they then be satisfied ? Would they

consider themselves as having reached the height of their ambitions? Probably not. Having silenced the other nations, their efforts would now be for the one to silence the other. Both could not be head; both could not be behind; neither would be content to occupy a subordinate place; and so the beginning of the end for one or the other would have begun. Despite their oneness of race, language, religion, and traditions, an alliance between Great Britain and America would not appear to us to be in harmony with the law of affinity, a law with which the alliances binding the allied groups together at the present time comports, a law pervading Nature, a law recognised by the history of all times. And what is that law? It is the law which bases affinity on inequality. It is evidently a merciful law. Persons equally strong, or great, or rich, in the same gifts never, or seldom, make good allies; and the same applies to nations; and so we do not look with disappointment at the improbability of an alliance between the two great English-speaking peoples.

If therefore, under the present altered conditions, alliances, as precautionary measures, become necessary to Indefinite Expansion; and if, through the impracticableness of getting allies we venture into the contest alone, then the risk which would have been present if we were attended by allies, would be enhanced to the degree of imminent peril.

But whilst viewing these grim possibilities as some of the intricacies and dangers of the way that would be traversed by Expansion, we are reminded of the nation's inheritance—of its eleven millions and more of square miles, covering some of the choicest parts of the globe, and of its nearly 386,000,000 of inhabitants. We are reminded, too, that this immense possession, which as yet is only very partially developed, is capable, under fuller development, of producing supplies, and creating demands, that the British Isles could neither consume nor discharge.

But we observed that the populations of the Empire were crystallizing, slowly yet surely, into two hostile camps,



each, on its own line growing in greatness and in power. And concerning the internal affairs of the Empire, we know that Expansion and Development cannot move together at the same pace. Expansion would be effected at the expense of Development; and the consequent neglect would be favourable to the spirit by which the breach between the two great divisions of the inhabitants of the Empire is being widened.

By Expansion, therefore, we would be threatened externally by ever multiplying international complications and conflicts, and internally with a partially developed Empire, and disruption.

The heroic age of Christianity was the age of persecution, the age when, after two centuries of organised and bitter persecution, Christianity ended by capturing her persecutors, when without sword or spear, shield or buckler, it conquered the greatest Empire of antiquity; when proud Rome, then the world's conqueror, was herself (and without arms) conquered by the Christian Faith. From this age, resplendent with the glory, and the mighty deeds of Christianity, we turn to her next remarkable conquests, achieved amongst the Germanic, Slavonic, and Anglo-Saxon nations of Northern, Eastern, and Central Europe. But the tactics employed by Christianity against the Paganism of cultured Rome, were not the same as were employed against the Paganism of barbarous Europe. Summed up in a word, the tactics used against heathen Rome, were the tactics of Faith; but against heathen Europe, they were *the sword* and faith. Thus, instead of being informed that the genius of Christianity was altogether opposed to the sword, the barbarian rulers and leaders were even allowed to regard the religion of Christ as directly conducive to success in arms, and to make conditional promises to become Christians, providing their arms should be victorious in the warlike enterprises upon which they might be embarking, or upon which they might have already embarked.

In his "Ecclesiastical History," Mosheim thus alludes

to the subject, when dealing with the conversion of the Germanic tribes: "All the warlike nations measured the excellence of a religion by the military success of its adherents, and esteemed *that* as the best religion the professors of which were most victorious over their enemies. While therefore they saw the Romans possessing a greater Empire than other nations, they viewed Christ, their God, as more worthy of homage than any other. It was this motive which produced the conversion of Clovis."

Further, these transactions of barter due to the conviction that Christianity was the greatest war-religion, were so far encouraged that, at the instigation of their teachers, and even the head of the Church, the heathen chiefs who now were nominally Christians, made war upon tribes purely heathen, whom, after they had subdued, they compelled to embrace Christianity, and to signify the same by submitting to the rite of Christian baptism. And so, according to a well-known law taught in the following passage—"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," the nations that have sprung up from the seeds of sword and faith, have all along exhibited in their lives the presence of both these elements, and the sword has taken a part in European Evangelisation that is scarcely surpassed by Mohammedanism, whose tenets enjoin the use of that instrument for propagating the Mohammedan faith.

In harmony also with another law, which announces that "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," we at this moment find the Christian nations of Europe, who are the fruit of the sword and faith, in danger of perishing from the sword.

How different might have been the aspect which Europe now wears if her first teachers—as they well might have done—had grounded her in the principles, and in the observances, of *peace*!

But what of the great Peace Conference? Is it likely to repair the work that was so imperfectly done some ten centuries ago? We would like to hope that its delibera-

tions may move in that direction, but the rattle of sabres, and the smell of gunpowder, on the eve of its assembling, scarcely allow of our indulging that hope.

We frankly admit that to us the future International outlook is not bright. The sky is full of storm-clouds ; but whilst these deepen in darkness and in gloom, we are standing in the open sea of Indefinite Expansion. In the haven of Concentration and Consolidation, when the storm bursts, and the sea in its agony writhes under the scourge of the elements, we may not be able wholly to escape its violence ; yet, in the *open sea* we shall be completely at its mercy. It behoves us therefore to remember that other nations, who are allied to one another, are expanding ; that most of these nations are increasing, and not diminishing ; that some of them have dependencies which are only small ; that others with great dependencies have those possessions in the same latitudes, where the concentration of their forces for defence is comparatively easy. Whereas, whilst continuous expansion would increase the hazard of attack, *we* are without allies ; our dependencies are numerous ; and they are scattered in every quarter of the globe ; rendering defence more difficult if not more dangerous. And so, as an alternative to the dangerous policy of Expansion, it seems incumbent that we should make the CONCENTRATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE OUR FUTURE POLICY.

FINIS.



## APPENDIX

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### HONG KONG, page 35.

IN 1898 an agreement was concluded with the Chinese Government for the extension of Hong Kong territory by an area adjacent to British Kowloon in the province of Kwong-tung, including Mirs Bay and Deep Bay. This area, which is leased for 99 years, contains 286 square miles.

### UGANDA, page 62.

The Uganda Protectorate was proclaimed on June 19, 1894, and was extended over the adjoining territories of Unyoro and Usogo on July 3, 1896.

### THE NIGER TERRITORIES, page 64.

According to the Anglo-French agreement of June 14, 1898, the western and northern frontiers were defined as a line starting from the point where Oepara intersects the 9th parallel of latitude, and proceeding in a northerly direction to the west of Boria, Ashigere, and Dekala to the Niger, ten miles above Gere, the water town of Ilo. It passes up the Niger in such a way as to leave for seventeen miles the right bank to France and the left to Great Britain, and continues in a north-eastern direction until it meets the circumference of a circle drawn with a radius of 100 miles from the town of Sokoto; then it follows this circumference to the north and east, to its second intersection with the 14th parallel, which parallel it follows with one deflection to the south and back, to the waters of Lake Chad, up to the parallel of longitude 35' east of the town of Kuka, and thence to the south shore of the lake, arriving at the boundary between the Niger Territories and the Cameroons.



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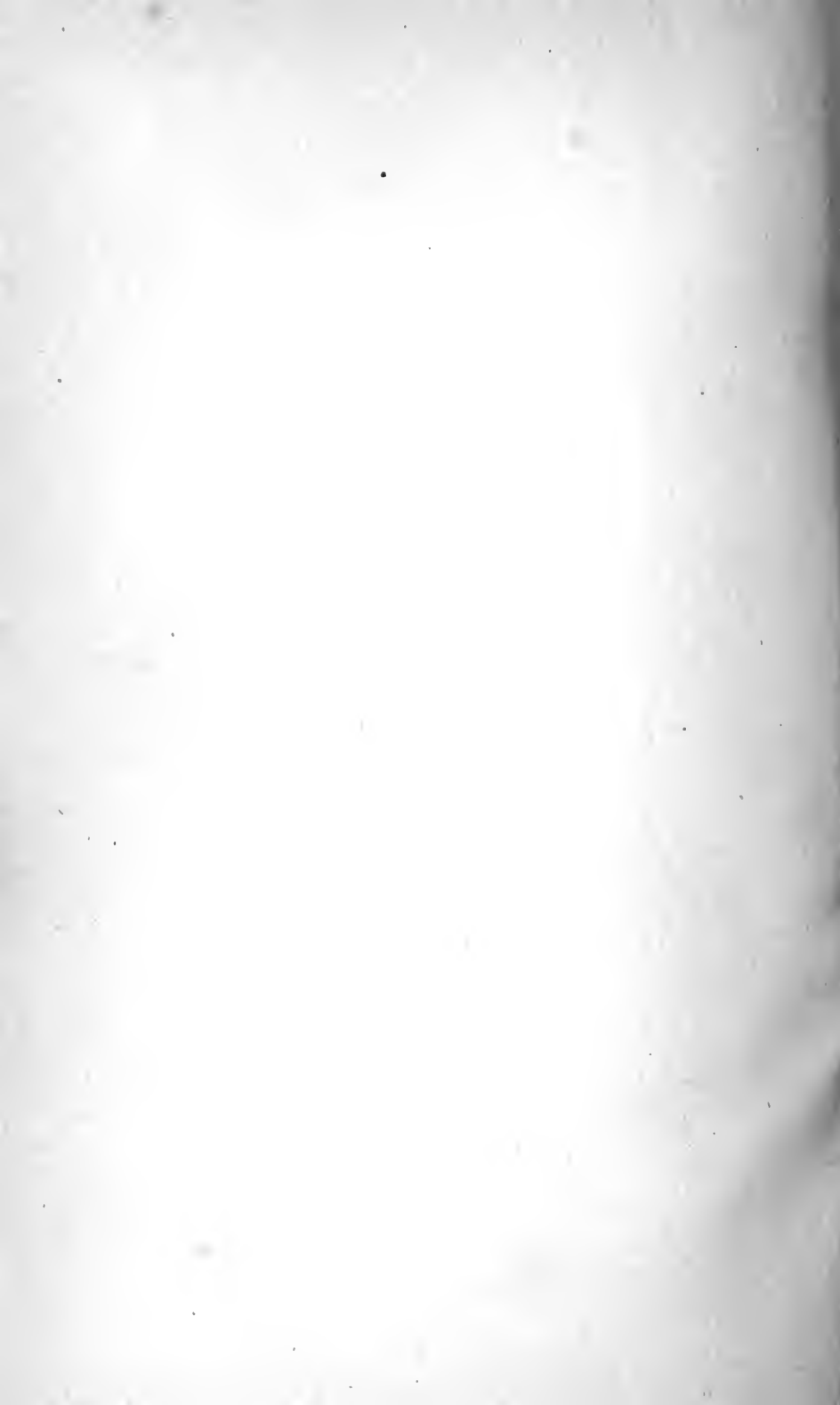
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